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The COMMUNIST

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(Review of the Month)

ALEX BITTELMAN

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(Toward the 9th Convention of the Y.C.L.)

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VOL. XVIII, No. 4 APRIL, 1939

The COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM
PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.
EDITORS: EARL BROWDER, ALEX BITTELMAN, V. J. JEROME

CONTENTS

Review of the Month	A. B.	291
Forward to May Day!	EDITORIAL	306
Tribute to a Great Leader	IRENE BROWDER	311
America's Youth in the Struggle for National and Social Security	CARL ROSS	317
The Young Communist League Prepares for Growth	HENRY WINSTON	324
Dialectical and Historical Materialism (From the *History of the C.P.S.U.*)		334
The Human Element in Mass Agitation	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	346
The Tasks of the Chinese People in the National Liberation War	CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA	353
Some Remarks on Rural Politics	FRED BASSET BLAIR	364
From the World Communist Press		371
Book Reviews	JOSEPH NORTH	376
	HERBERT BIEL	381

Entered as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Send checks, money orders and correspondence to THE COMMUNIST, *P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 E. 13th St.), New York. Subscription rates: $2.00 a year; $1.00 for six months; foreign and Canada $2.50 a year. Single copies 20 cents.*
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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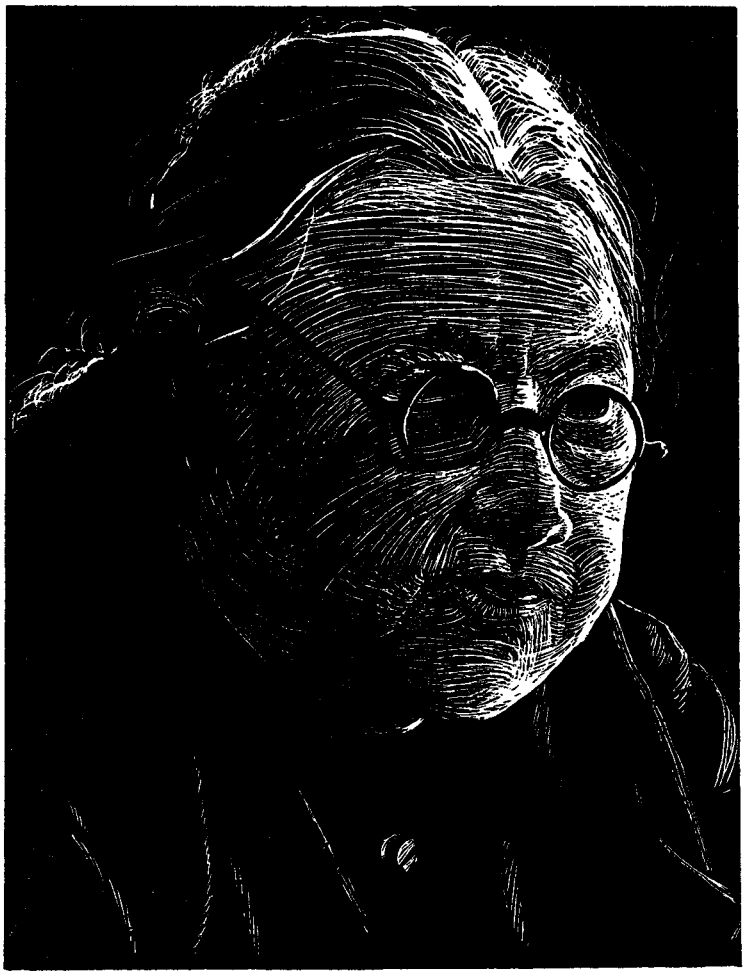

NADEZHDA KONSTANTINOVNA KRUPSKAYA
1869-1939

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Administration Tackles Economic Problems. What Does Big Business Want? Lippman and Hearst State the Case. General Demand and Specific Ones. Democracy Cannot Afford to Abdicate. Taxation and Stock Speculation. Only in the Struggle Against Reactionary Big Business Will the People Become United. Labor Negotiates Unity. Difficulties and Prospects. Why Do Reactionary Republicans Advise Green to Sabotage Unity? Trade Unionism and Politics. Working Class Wants Unity. Labor and the New Deal. Organize Masses Down Below. Foreign Outlook and Chamberlain Optimism. Crucifying Spain. Our Isolationists Expose Themselves. Senate Discusses Foreign Policy. Repeal of Neutrality Act. First Reactions to Stalin's Report. We Mourn the Death of N. K. Krupskaya.

ALL signs point to the fact that the country has been favorably impressed by the recent efforts of the administration to tackle in a fresh manner the serious economic problems facing America. One can detect the rise of a favorable response also among wide circles of small and medium business. *But not among Big Business,* not among the reactionary monopolies.

Here, among the reactionary monopolies, the tendency is to belittle the administration's efforts; to take all that is offered and to demand more; to exploit every concession for sharper attacks against the people and against the government. For Big Business is out to destroy the New Deal and to enthrone reaction in 1940.

As usual, Walter Lippman supplies the "ideological" ground for the sabotage of Big Business. Speaking of the administration's economic plans, he says:

"The weakness of this strategical plan lies in the fact that the President has two objectives and they are not easy to reconcile. It is admitted that recovery depends upon a resumption of private investment, more particularly of private investment by the large corporations."

And about these large corporations, he says:

"As long as they see the New Dealers in all the key positions, they will think, no matter what Mr. Hopkins and others may say, that the prospects of profits are not secure. They will say that sudden conversions are not guaranteed to endure, that men who can change their minds suddenly can change back no less suddenly."

So, what is the solution? What is needed, according to Lippman *"is a change of men rather than a change of measures."*

This is explained as follows:

"After the purge and the elections of 1938, the New Deal faction had lost its control of the Democratic Party, and, therefore, it had lost its control of the country. The only workable response to that development was to reorganize the administration so as to make it truly representative of the election returns." (*Herald Tribune,* February 28.)

"Reorganize the administration"—

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that's what Big Business wants. It says, through the mouth of Lippman and others: no matter what you do, no matter what concessions you may make, as long as the New Deal is in power, we will continue to sabotage.

Big Business does not yet demand the resignation (or impeachment) of President Roosevelt, although this follows from the slogan "reorganize the administration." For the moment it would be satisfied, according to Lippman, if the President were "to make peace with the conservative Democrats" and drive all the New Dealers out of the government. But only for the moment. With a government securely in th hands of "conservative" Democrats, lots of other things could be done to the country and to the President to satisfy more fully the reactionary monopolies.

Ordinarily, Hearst and Lippman do not speak the same language even though the essentials of their domestic policies differ little. But in this instance, even the language is the same. Hearst too calls for a "reorganized administration." In a radio speech from Los Angeles, Hearst declares that to attain prosperity it is essential:

"To have an administration which will sit on the industrial side of the table, which will look on situations from the viewpoint of American industry, which will reduce the burdens on industry and increase the opportunities for industry, and consequently for production and consequently for employment." (*New York Times*, March 5.)

So much for the *political* demands of Big Business which are an immediate reorganization of the administration (control for the reactionary Democrats) as a stepping stone to the enthronement of pro-fascist reaction in 1940. What about its *economic* demands? The Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Association of Manufacturers have both presented fresh statements of their legislative demands. (One on March 3, the other on February 19.) These are almost identical in substance while the language of the National Association of Manufacturers is somewhat more diplomatic. The Chamber of Commerce demands:

"Reduction of public expenditures. . . . Abolition or reduction of taxes which discourage business initiative. . . . Modification of repressive laws . . . which impede the flow of money into capital markets. . . . Curtailment of government competition with private enterprise. . . . Repeal or revision of labor legislation which promotes strife and discord. . . . Limitation of the authority of federal agencies which exercise the functions of prosecutor, judge and jury in the regulation of business activities. . . . Discontinuance of investigations and inquiries which tend to discredit business. . . ."

In these demands of the Chamber of Commerce, the reader will note the following: The language is demagogically misleading. It tries to represent every New Deal measure now on the statute books as interfering with and obstructing business, whereas as a matter of plain fact all that these measures would do, if consistently applied, which is not always the case, would be to eliminate only the most atrocious *excesses* of *monopoly* domination, leaving the domination itself almost untouched. Now, it is perfectly understandable that the monopolies, for whom the Chamber speaks, should feel resentful even of these mild regulations; but the mass of the people, including all of small business and a goodly part of medium business with whom the monopolies

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are in constant conflict—these should not only support the existing governmental regulations but should favor more effective and stringent ones. And so, in fact, the masses of the people do: the workers and the farmers. And there is no reason to doubt that a more effective policy of curbing the power of the monopolies, *coupled with real assistance to small business,* would gain the active support for the New Deal of the bulk of small businessmen, *neutralizing* in the process the opposition and fears of large sections of medium business.

Keeping the above in mind, one must note also this in the demands of the Chamber of Commerce. To meet these demands, even in part, would mean *outright repeal or complete emasculation* of every measure of progressive labor and social legislation put on the statute books by the New Deal administration. And this is in substance also the demand of the dominating forces in the National Association of Manufacturers. We emphasize "the dominating forces" —not all manufacturers.

In other words, Big Business reaction is out to destroy not only the New Deal administration but also all the progressive achievements of the New Deal. Not only the men but also the measures. Not only the "methods" but also the objectives of the President's administration. The reactionary coalition in Congress is seeking to realize the will of Big Business.

What this really means can be seen better from a more detailed examination of various specific proposals. Take, for example, the demand of the reactionaries for a reduction of government expenditures. It will be recalled that the President challenged his opponents some time ago to pick up some courage and honesty and show exactly *where* expenditures can be cut. The reactionary coalition in Congress has not yet mustered the required honesty for presenting a *program* of specific reductions that would balance the budget. The reactionary tacticians prefer to do the cutting piecemeal without exposing their hand fully. But the National Economy League, assisted by so-called "scientists" in the service of Big Business, did come out early in March with a tentative program. It is worth looking at it.

It proposes, as an immediate step, a 1940 budget of $7,287,000,000. This would require a reduction in expenditures of $1,708,000,000. And where would it come from, according to the League?—$640,000,000 would come out of *relief,* $431,000,000 out of *public works,* $194,000,000 out of *farm payments,* the rest from other expenditures which are not specified. In other words, take it out of the hides of the workers, farmers and small businessmen. Drive the masses still further into misery and starvation, not only the workers but also the farmers and the small man generally. Curtail still more the meagre purchasing power of the people and make the task of economic recovery almost insoluble. This is the program of Big Business. It is a program calculated to intensify the crisis conditions in the country, to engineer *political* crises, in the hope that this may destroy the people's democracy, enabling Big Business to bring to power pro-fascist reaction.

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Take another specific proposal of reaction: on taxation. The demand is for the "revision" of the undistributed profit tax and of the capital gains tax. On the first tax, it is generally agreed that the demanded revision would be of no benefit to business except to accommodate the big corporations which want that tax repealed. But in what *way* will this accommodate the big corporations? Will they proceed more willingly to make large scale capital investments? There is absolutely no ground to believe that this will be the effect of repeal. Aside from its revenue-producing features, the undistributed profits tax as it now stands, with all its loopholes and deficiences, does tend somewhat to force accumulated profits of big corporations into the capital market. That it does not do so effectively enough is due to the emasculation of the law by the last Congress and to the fact that a tax law by itself could not fully accomplish the aim of breaking the strike of capital.

Now, what will happen if this law is repealed? If nothing else happens to counteract the effects of repeal, the big corporations will be granted more leeway to withhold profits from becoming working capital. In addition, these corporations will find it easier to evade the regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission when they do make investments. The net effect will be to give the monopolies more power without the slightest guarantee or assurance that more capital will be flowing into industry.

Then the capital gains tax. Big Business wants this one also "revised" or repealed. The argument is that the "investor" needs encouragment to speculate and to risk. But this is not the only thing that Big Business demands. It also demands a loosening up of the stock exchange regulations, especially the repeal of that provision of the law which prohibits secret pools and stock rigging by insiders—by the money monopolists. This is what Morgan & Co. are working for. Finance capital will not be satisfied, even for the moment, merely with a revision of the capital gains tax. This it couples with a revision of the stock exchange regulations.

Now, what will happen if these demands of the monopolies are granted? Again, if nothing else is done to counteract its effects, this will restore in full to finance capital the old power to cheat and rob the small investor. It will enable the Morgans to precipitate more freely financial panics, at the first sign of economic difficulty, when such panics will suit their purposes. It will give them a firmer hold upon the flow of capital and, hence, greater power to sabotage production and recovery.

It is quite conceivable that the granting of these demands of Big Business may result in a temporary speculation orgy on the stock exchange only to be soon followed by a crash and a serious aggravation of economic conditions. Big Business, determined to crush the New Deal, will not overlook any opportunities to confront the country with serious economic trouble on the eve of the 1940 elections. And the granting of the demands for the revision of the capital gains tax and the exchange regulations will give the Morgans many

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new opportunities, not to hasten recovery, but to rob the people and obstruct recovery.

Walter Lippman says that in its present dealings with business, the administration is following a certain strategical plan. If that is so, that plan cannot (must not) be one of trying to "appease" or neutralize Big Business. For the reason that Big Business would not be "appeased," as already evident in the reactions of the spokesmen of the monopolies cited above. And for the additional reason that business recovery can be fought for successfully today only by curbing the power of Big Business.

By all means the government should make use of all the differences and rivalries that are known to exist among various cliques of finance capitalists. This will help recovery, if utilized to curb the powers of these anti-national and anti-recovery groups. But the strategic plan, if there be such, must aim mainly to win *the support of small business,* seeking *to neutralize* medium business which is in conflict with the monopolies. And this can be achieved only by reviving the struggle against the monopolies, concentrating full fire on the strike of big capital, pressing forward legislation to break their strike and curb their power, unfolding a full and rounded out program for recovery, for the social and national security of America.

* * *

THE unity negotiations between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L, have gotten off to a good start. First came the initiative of President Roosevelt who based the need of unity in the broad economic and political interests of labor and of the people as a whole. This was soon followed by the unity plan proposed by John L. Lewis for the C.I.O., a plan that provides for the calling of a convention of the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods to organize the American Labor Congress. It is a plan that has already received the enthusiastic endorsement of wide sections of labor and of the other progressive forces. It is a practical, fair and effective plan for trade union unity.

It is safe to assume that the unity negotiations will not all be smooth-sailing. They may encounter stormy weather. They may meet obstacles. But this need not discourage the adherents of unity whose name is legion, who embrace the overwhelming majority of the trade union movement, who enjoy the sympathetic attitude of all progressive and democratic forces in the country. Labor, its allies, and all the truly progressive leaders of the people want trade union unity. And unity it shall be even though many obstacles are still to be overcome.

We should know, however, from where these obstacles may come and what would be their nature. Not everything can be foreseen but certain things are already in the picture, even though faintly at this moment.

Big Business reaction is opposed to trade union unity and is doing all in its power to obstruct its consummation. These influences should be watched carefully and brought to light promptly.

We must note with special interest

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the nature of the advice that is coming from the reactionary camp to the leaders of the A. F. of L. Significantly enough, these circles have no words of advice for the C.I.O. It is the A. F. of L. with whom they are concerning themselves. All right. We accept this as a fact and ask this question: What do the reactionaries want the A. F. of L. to do? The answer is to prevent trade union unity. This is putting it bluntly but it is true.

We take, for example, Mark Sullivan, a hardened enemy of labor and of the New Deal. A professional champion of Big Business reaction. And what does he have to say on labor unity? Here it is:

> "When and if the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. follow Mr. Roosevelt's request that they get together, the getting together should be on the basis which drops the radicalism that the C.I.O. brought with it. This is much the same as saying that, with respect to the attitude of labor unions toward society and government, the getting together should be largely on A. F. of L.'s terms." (*Herald Tribune,* February 28.)

Disregarding the "when and if," which exposes Mr. Sullivan as being a little less than enthusiastic about labor unity, we face at once the following question. Assuming for the moment that trade union unity must be based on the attitude of the A. F. of L. "toward society and government," what is that attitude? Is there, in fact, such an attitude towards *all the social and political problems of our time* accepted by every member of the A. F. of L. and binding upon each of them? Anyone familiar with trade unionism knows that there is no such thing.

On the contrary, it is well known that in the A. F. of L., as in other unions, there are Republicans, Democrats, non-party people, Socialists, Communists, general progressives, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Freethinkers, etc., etc. There are people there, in other words, holding a great variety of opinions on questions of "society and government." This is so because our trade unions are based not on binding programs of social and political philosophies but on the defense of the daily interests of their members and on the need of promoting the interests of labor generally. How then is Mr. Sullivan going to determine the attitude of the A. F. of L. "toward society and government"?

We know, of course, Mr. Sullivan's own attitude on these questions. They are the attitudes of Big Business and of the reactionary core of the Republican Party. Hence, it is quite natural for him to sympathize with the positions of such A. F. of L. leaders as Matthew Woll and Hutcheson who are following the lead of the Hoover Republicans. But by no stretch of the imagination can Woll's attitude be identified with that of the A. F. of L. And this, too, every informed person knows.

Therefore, if the leaders of the A. F. of L. should for a moment entertain Mr. Sullivan's advice, the first thing they would have to do is to try to split the A. F. of L. itself. That is to say, they would have to try to expel from the A. F. of L. all those who do not share Mr. Sullivan's attitude toward society and government. Which means expelling the overwhelming majority of the A. F. of L. Thus Mr. Sullivan's advice, which carries the

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voice of Big Business reaction, is calculated not only to obstruct unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. but to break up the unity of the A. F. of L. itself. It is a proposal to intensify disunity in labor's ranks.

Naturally, labor nowadays is very much alive to social and political questions. And this is a sign of progress, progress of labor, progress of the people as a whole. Naturally again, trade unions are very much alive to these questions and this is the reason they are growing stronger, more effective in the fulfillment of their trade union tasks, more influential in the affairs of the nation of which they constitute such a basic and valuable part. But in what does this show itself? It shows itself in the stiffening opposition of labor to reaction and to the offensive of Big Business. It shows itself in the growth of labor's anti-fascist consciousness and this is strongly reflected in the unions: the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods. It shows itself in the growing influence of labor—the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods—in the affairs of the nation, in the camp of progress and democracy, in the struggle of the American people for the preservation and extension of democracy. We emphasize that all these sections of the trade union movement have the same progressive orientation and are moving in the same direction.

The A. F. of L. membership has demonstrated time and again that this is the direction they want to move. And A. F. of L. conventions, undemocratic as their composition is in many respects, have on many occasions reflected in part the progressive trends among the membership on general social and political questions. It is true that in all such cases the membership of the A. F. of L. found itself at variance with the views of Woll and Hutcheson but that did not change the position of the membership. So, what does Mr. Sullivan propose to do about it?

Speaking for Big Business reaction, he proposes to impose upon the A. F. of L. the social and political views of Woll and Hutcheson and to expel from the A. F. of L. all those who do not share these views. This he proposes *indirectly*, by urging that the position of Republican Party Big Business reaction be made the basis for "unity" between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. But inasmuch as the A. F. of L. unions are themselves opposed to such a platform, Mr. Sullivan's plan clearly involves the proposal of first splitting the A. F. of L. To make his intent even clearer, Mr. Sullivan says:

> "The A. F. of L. has made a long, hard fight for upholding the American system for rejecting and expelling Communism wherever it appears in the field of labor. The A. F. of L. ought not to give up this point of view, nor compromise it, for the sake of the unity Mr. Roosevelt wants." (*Ibid.*)

Thus speaks the echo of the fascist axis. Thus speaks Big Business reaction in America in a desperate effort to block labor unity.

Mr. Sullivan himself admits that trade union unity would have a beneficial effect upon the economic situation. He does not challenge the position of the administration that labor unity will tend to help recovery. But

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he also sees a political motive in the President's initiative. It is that labor unity will "help the Democrats keep power in the 1940 election" and will "help Mr. Roosevelt keep a grip on the Democratic Party."

Assuming that these are really the political considerations motivating Mr. Roosevelt's initiative for labor unity, is that any reason for the A. F. of L. to be suspicious of the unity move, let alone to sabotage this move? For Mr. Sullivan, a reactionary Republican, the President's political motives are poison. And that's natural. But what has that got to do with the interests of the A. F. of L.?

The A. F. of L. is a labor organization, not a Big Business outfit. Its interests are the interests of the workers belonging to its unions. Therefore, the real question facing the A. F. of L. is whether labor unity is in the interests of its membership; whether the unity plan submitted to the negotiations committee by the C.I.O. would help promote the interests and standing of the A. F. of L. membership and of labor generally. This and this alone is the standpoint from which the question has to be approached and settled. And as to the question of unity, the membership of the A. F. of L., the same as that of the C.I.O., has already answered that question. *They want unity. They want their leadership to exert all efforts to bring about that result.* There are also grounds to believe that, given a chance to study objectively the concrete unity plan submitted by the C.I.O., the membership of the A. F. of L. and of the Railroad Brotherhoods will recognize the practicality and correctness of its major propositions. They will recognize that it offers a fine and promising basis for true unity negotiations.

It is perfectly correct to say that one of the main reasons for the growing aggression of Big Business reaction in the country, in Congress and outside, lies in the existing disunity of labor. It lies in this and also in the absence of a firm alliance between a united working class with the farmers and middle classes. It is also no secret (and Mr. Sullivan inferentially confirms it) that the reactionary leadership of the Republican Party bases its speculations on victory in 1940 on the hope that labor will continue disunited and that this disunity will enable the Wolls and Hutchesons to dragoon sections of the A. F. of L. into supporting the reactionary Republicans. In the face of all this, how can labor fail to see that its best and most vital interests demand trade union unity, and as soon as possible? And as to the President's political motives, as related by Sullivan, the answer is twofold. First, the opponents of unity and of the President also have political motives: it is to drive labor back to the old days of political impotence and inferiority (say, to the days of Hoover); to defeat the New Deal and to bring a reactionary Republican administration to power; to keep labor divided and to obstruct the coming together of labor with the farmers and middle classes so the monopolies can get the upper hand and bring fascism to this country. Second, the political motives of the President, even as given by Sullivan, are not in conflict with the

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interests of labor and the trade unions. On the contrary, these motives, even on their face, would seem at the present time *to coincide* with the interests of labor.

Let us look again at these motives. The President, says Sullivan, wants trade union unity because this will help him "keep a grip on the Democratic Party." Very well. The question for labor to answer is: would it want the Garners, the Byrds, the Glasses, the Georges—would labor want these to get hold of the Democratic Party? No informed worker would have difficulty in making up his mind on that.

In fact, he has already made it up. And his answer is: *No,* by no means. His answer is: "I don't want the relief cutters, the enemies of collective bargaining, the friends and agents of the big trusts and corporations, the collaborators of Hoover. I don't want any of these people to have in their hands the fate of myself and family. I know them well enough to fight them wherever I meet them. There are plenty of things I want the President to do for the people which he has not yet done. But I know that one of the reasons he has not done them is because the Garners won't let him, the Garners in coalition with the reactionary Republicans. And I also know that, if the Garners are allowed to defeat the President in the Democratic Party, the conditions of myself as a worker, as a trade unionist, and of all working people, of the farmers and middle classes, will be immeasurably worsened." The informed trade unionist, no less in the A. F. of L. than in the other unions, will have no hesitation in saying: "As between the President and his reactionary opponents in the Democratic Party, I am for the President and the New Deal." And he will say further: "If trade union unity will also help the President to lick the enemies of labor in his own party, so much more reason for a quick consummation of trade union unity."

Of course, the broader aims and purposes of labor, well understood, are not limited to merely helping the President to defeat the reactionary Democrats. Speaking of these aims as they are shaped by the present period, labor is interested in helping to bring together into one common anti-fascist democratic front all the working people of the country for the purpose of isolating and curbing the power of the reactionary monopolies, for the purpose of developing a more advanced democracy, economically and politically, for the purpose of checking and defeating the advance of fascism. Labor is interested in becoming a leading force in this democratic front, and so are all working people. This is being accepted by ever larger masses of the American people.

If the foregoing states correctly the broad aims and purposes of labor in the present period, then the only additional question for the trade unions to decide is whether or not the President's victory over his reactionary opponents in the Democratic Party will help promote these broader aims of labor. Will they? Of course they will. One does not have to be a trained politician to see that this is so. To defeat these reactionaries in the Democratic Party will require a determined struggle against the reac-

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tionary monopolies—the main enemies of labor. Such a struggle will weaken these monopolies; and a weakening of the power of these monopolies will enable labor and its allies to grow stronger both on the economic and political fields. And this means the building up of the common anti-fascist democratic front, with labor assuming an increasingly leading part. This will help immediately to protect the interests of labor and, when 1940 comes around, labor and its allies will be in a favorable position to influence the outcome of the fight in favor of the people and against its enemies.

Now, what about the other political motive of the President? Mr. Sullivan says that labor unity will help the Democrats keep power in the 1940 elections. That may be so. And that is the reason why Mr. Sullivan, the reactionary Republican, is opposed to labor unity. But in saying so, Mr. Sullivan has said more than he wanted. He actually said that Republican Party success in 1940 is *inconsistent* with labor unity; that Republican Party victory in 1940 *demands the perpetuation of labor disunity.*

This alone is sufficient to damn the Republican Party in the eyes of every working man and working woman in America. But he said more than that. He said that the success of the Democratic Party in 1940 hinges upon labor unity; that the practical partisan interests of that party require that labor be united. From which alone labor would be justified in drawing this conclusion: that whereas a Republican Party victory in 1940 is clearly and unmistakably *against* the interests of labor, would present the gravest danger to labor, contrariwise a Democratic Party victory in 1940 may prove to be a very desirable thing for labor.

We say it may instead of it will, for these reasons. If the reactionaries in the Democratic Party should be allowed to defeat the New Deal and President Roosevelt, establishing the hegemony of reaction in that party, that would confront labor, the New Deal and all progressives with a new situation and with the need of devising new political instruments for the promotion of the fight against reaction. In that case, naturally, a Democratic Party victory would be as little desirable as a Republican Party victory. But if labor and its allies, and the progressive New Deal forces in the Democratic Party, succeed in defeating the reactionaries in that party, establishing the progressive forces more firmly within its counsels, and rallying to it the progressive-minded Republicans, then (if no new fundamental changes occur in the meantime) a Democratic Party victory in 1940 will be the most desirable thing under the circumstances.

Therefore, every informed trade unionist will say: "If the political motives of the President coincide also on this question with the interests of labor and its allies, so much the better, so much the greater the chances of licking labor's enemies, so much more reason for hastening the consummation of labor unity and for intensifying the fight against the reactionaries in the Democratic Party."

Especially to emphasize in this connection is *the need of more open*

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political action by labor and its allies, by the progressives forces of the Democratic Party in Congress and in the localities and by the progressive elements in the Republican Party. More open and *more coordinated* action in support of the President's progressive measures against the reactionary offensive; *more initiative in rallying the masses down below;* more constructive criticism and improvement of the shortcomings of the administration. In short, more energetic and coordinated activities among the masses in the building of the democratic front. It is not so that labor and its allies can sit on the sidewalk and watch passively the outcome of the fight in the Democratic Party between the New Deal and the reactionaries and then make up their mind whether or not to support the Democratic Party in 1940. Not at all. Labor and its allies can and must play a decisive part in the outcome of that fight. And it can be done most effectively by uniting the trade unions and building their strength in the industries, by strengthening all ties of labor with the farmers and middle classes, by intervening actively in the current political struggle against the offensive of reaction *on all issues before the country,* by doing everything possible to strengthen the hands of the progressive New Deal forces in the Democratic Party.

Therefore, forward to trade union unity!

* * *

SOMEBODY from somewhere is engineering "optimistic" moods regarding the international outlook. It may be coming from the fascist axis or, perhaps, more likely, from the Chamberlain capitulators. But whatever the origin, the purpose is clear. It is to lull the alertness of the peoples both to new fascist aggressions and more particularly to new Munichs. Let us beware.

We are told that the aggressor powers have missed the boat after Munich and are, therefore, not likely to precipitate anything serious in the coming months. And this we are told at the very time when Spain is being crucified by the fascist invaders with the collaboration of Chamberlain and Bonnet, the last two having engineered a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat against the Republican government; at the time when a whole Mediterranean Munich is in the making, which will further jeopardize the national security of France, hitting England and the United States; at the time when Japan is extending her aggressions in China and Asia generally.

Before the eyes of the whole of humanity, the second imperialist war waged by fascism for the imperialist redivision of the world *is being extended;* is growing more menacing and devastating; is coming closer to the very frontiers of France, England and the United States; is being waged against the interests of the bourgeois democracies. And, yet, the Chamberlains urge optimism, telling the world that nothing serious is *going* to happen when so much is *already* happening. Is it not clear that this is a new smokescreen for further crimes?

Naturally enough this optimism stuff is being peddled here by the

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reactionaries and isolationists. Better allies than these, fascism and Chamberlain cannot have. As witness Senator Nye, for example, and also Vandenberg.

In the Senate discussion on the national defense bill (February 28), Senator Barkley wanted to know from Senator Nye how soon, in the latter's opinion, the United States would have to begin worrying about the fascist aggressions abroad. The question was:

". . . How long it would be before we should be confronted with the same situation [as Europe], in which we should have either to stand up and fight or to yield and retreat." (*Congressional Record.*)

And this is Mr. Nye's answer:

"If that situation were to come about, it would be a long, long time before it reached us; but I think the democracies in Europe have ceased their moment of fear and readiness and willingness to respond to the demands of the dictatorships, and are ready to stand their ground; that we have heard the last of the matter unless we are ready now to give encouragement to another rush into war in Europe." (*Ibid.*)

One is embarrassed with wonderment. What is this—ignorance, blindness, pro-fascism, or unprincipled partisanship?

On the one hand, Mr. Nye would seem to be pleased with the "fact" that the democracies have ceased to retreat. Assuming it to be a fact, which it is not, why does the same Mr. Nye denounce the President for having given these democracies a little encouragement? And if encouraging England and France "to stand up" before the fascist aggressors is no good, then their retreat before the aggressors would be good. And, if so, why did he say *approvingly* that the democracies "have ceased their moment of fear"?

Hopeless muddle and maze of contradictions. But all this resolves itself in Mr. Nye's attitude very nicely and satisfactorily—satisfactory to the fascist aggressors and to the capitulators. He concludes by saying that "we have heard the last of the matter." That is, we shall hear no more of fascist aggression and Chamberlain capitulation. Exactly the Hitler and Chamberlain stuff. And, the most outrageous remark, which aroused in the Senate even some reactionaries, was this: "unless we [the United States] are ready now to give encouragement to another rush into war in Europe." That's what Nye said. If the United States speaks up against the aggressors, and encourages a little the bourgeois democracies, this country will be responsible for war. Isn't that the limit? It may look so, but we cannot be too sure.

Now, take a look at Vandenberg, another stalwart of isolationism, though of a somewhat different brand. On February 27, he made a long and tedious speech in the Senate "against entangling alliances," quoting of course from Washington's *Farewell Address,* and conveniently forgetting to quote that portion of it which favors "temporary alliances." Be that as it may, the main tenor of the speech was against "alliances" as though there were before the Senate a treaty of alliance to act upon instead of the national defense bill.

Having finished the speech, Senator Logan asked a question:

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"If it be the declared purpose and policy of some of the nations in Europe to destroy democracy, and they intend to make an attack on the democracies of Europe or of the world, does the Senator believe that neutrality calls upon us, the greatest democracy on earth, to treat the nations that are fighting to destroy democracy exactly as we would treat the nations which are fighting to preserve democracy." (*Congressional Record*, February 27.)

A fair and straight question, if a bit academically phrased. And here is Vandenberg's answer:

"My point is that if America is proposing to help any of the European democracies it should do so openly, conclusively, and convincingly as an ally. . . ." (*Ibid.*)

Evasion, contradiction and trickery are all rolled into this brief answer. First, Vandenberg evades answering the plain question of Senator Logan which is whether the United States *should* help the democracies. Should it, or should it not? Should it treat the victims of fascist aggression the same as the aggressors? Senator Vandenberg ignores completely the question and proceeds to say that "if" America wants to help the democracies, then it should do so thus and thus. But should America *want* to help the democracies? On this Vandenberg kept mum.

Secondly, Vandenberg contradicts himself. In his speech he argued against alliances; in his answer to Senator Logan, he insists upon making alliances "if" America decides to help the democracies. Thirdly, he is tricky. He does not really favor alliances with the democracies, though he may favor alliances with the fascists. But he seeks to provoke the administration and its supporters to propose an alliance so he can *more easily* arouse prejudices against helping the democracies on the demagogic ground that this country is committed to a policy of "no alliances."

The cited portions of the Senate discussion, as participated in by Nye and Vandenberg, give the full measure of the honesty, statesmanship, loyalty to democracy and to the interests of this nation of the main spokesmen of isolationism in the United States. It should serve as an eye-opener to many who have not yet seen the truth.

This discussion was, in a way, a preliminary to the coming fight on the revision or repeal of the Neutrality Act. Clearly, a big job has to be tackled at once to arouse and mobilize the people in support of the President's position as outlined in his opening message to Congress and subsequently. Senator Logan has well restated that position on the Neutrality Act in his speech in the Senate on March 2. He said:

"In my judgment, the effect of our Neutrality Act was to give the green light to the nations ruled by dictators to move against democracies. When we served notice on the world by that act that it was our purpose to refrain from favoring one nation at war over another, and that we would hold the balance even, it was the information that Japan, Germany and Italy needed to begin their aggressions.

"If it be true—and I believe on good authority that it is true—that Germany, Italy and Japan have entered into a pact mutually to assist each other in aggressions until Europe and Asia are dominated by them, our attitude expressed in the Neutrality Act may have given much encouragement to them to destroy democracies." (*Congressional Record*, March 2.)

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Every word here is true. It is also true that the Neutrality Act was and is very helpful to the Chamberlain capitulators here and abroad. The majority of the American people are opposed to this "neutrality" which helps the aggressor and punishes its victims. The American masses favor the orientation of President Roosevelt. Only these masses have to be made articulate. They have to be organized to render *active support* to this orientation. And this is the central task as we approach the Congressional struggle on this issue.

* * *

FROM the first news stories of Stalin's report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the news available at this writing, it is evident that a historic contribution has been made to the clarification of world issues. It is evident that a powerful ideological weapon has been presented to the peoples of all countries, not alone of the Soviet Union, for their further unification around the working class, to resist fascist aggression, to curb the capitulators, to promote the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism.

A full discussion of the deliberations and decisions of the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in these columns will be possible only in the next issue. Here we should like to draw the attention of the reader to just a few points.

It is, first, that the second imperialist war is not only here but, thanks to the Chamberlain policies of capitulation to and connivance with the aggressors, is being pushed into becoming a world war. All too often people overlook the fact that the war is already on, that it is an *imperialist* war waged by Italy, Japan and Germany against the interests of England, France and the United States.

It is, secondly, that the so-called "non-intervention" and "neutrality," which ease the way for the aggressors to develop the war, which destroyed Czechoslovakia and is now crucifying Spain, *is a policy of egging on the fascist aggressors to go east, to attack the Soviet Union.* That it did not work out that way, the way the Chamberlains wanted and hoped for, is of course not the fault of the capitulators. If, following the first Munich, Hitler did not go east but is moving west (against France, England and the United States), this is due to the strength and firm peace policy of the Soviet Union, to the sympathies for the Socialist fatherland among the widest masses of the toiling people in all capitalist countries, *including the German masses,* to the most acute imperialist contradictions between the aggressor capitalist powers and the non-aggressor capitalist powers, to the abandonment by England and France of the policy of collective security.

The Chamberlain apologists ask insinuatingly: why doesn't Hitler move against the Soviet Union? Does not that show that there is something going on between Germany and the Soviet Union? Does not it prove that there is some kind of a *rapprochement*? By asking such questions, and insinuating a fantastic answer, those who are conniving with the fascist aggressors against their own countries are merely exposing their dearest wish

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to see fascism attack the Soviet Union. They also expose the meaning of the Munich policy which is directed to that end. And they are trying to prevent the masses from seeing the real answer which is that fascism prefers to attack the weaker not the stronger, at least as long as the situation is what it is today.

It is, finally, that the working class must rise up and say its word. It must unite its ranks, nationally and internationally. It must rally in each country all the toiling and progressive forces to curb and isolate the capitulators. It must secure such governments in power as will stand for the people, protect the nation, resist fascist aggression, honestly collaborating with the Soviet Union. It must join hands with the workers and peoples of the Soviet Union for mutual political assistance, as proposed by Comrade Stalin. Thus and only thus will fascism and fascist aggression be checked and defeated, nationally and internationally, opening the way for further progress to final liberation.

* * *

WE MOURN the death of N. K. Krupskaya, whose life of devotion to the cause of Lenin and Stalin is an example to all of us.

It is a great loss to the camp of progress and socialism everywhere. One of the oldest Bolsheviks, closest friend of Lenin, she was a source of inspiration to millions in the struggle for the liberation of toiling humanity. Her death, painful as the loss is, will only intensify our loyalty and struggle for the things she believed in, for the interests of the people, for the cause of Lenin and Stalin, for the victory of communism.

A. B.

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FORWARD TO MAY DAY!

AN EDITORIAL

MAY DAY, 1939, occurs in a period which Comrade Stalin, in his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, characterizes as "one of the most serious upheavals both in the economic and the political spheres," a period in which "the map of Europe is being violently changed," and in which the entire "post-war so-called peace system has been shaken to its foundation."

With the fall of Catalonia, the fascist armies are confronting the French Republic on three sides. Fascist Italy, encouraged by the "appeasement" policy of the Chamberlain government, is raising demands that infringe upon the interests of the French Empire. Nazi Germany is demanding colonies; and as we go to press, Hitler has sliced up Czechoslovakia into vassal "protectorates" which he has incorporated into his "greater Germany."

The fascist aggressors are not only demanding redivision of the world's markets, but are threatening "redivision of the world, of the spheres of influence and colonies by military action." (*Stalin.*)

In short, May Day this year falls in a period of crisis connected with the second imperialist war, which was begun when Japan started its war against China.

The offensive of the fascist aggressors, to the direct detriment of the bourgeois democracies, is accompanied by the rising of the forces of reaction and fascism within the bourgeois-democratic countries. This is obvious in France, where enemies of French democracy, at one time concealed in the ranks of the People's Front, have come into the open as allies of the most rabit reactionary enemies.

It is obvious in Great Britain where, in spite of the fact that the majority of the British people condemn Chamberlain's policies, the spinelessness of the opposition has so far prevented the indignation of the masses from taking such a form as would have curbed Chamberlain's "appeasement" policy. And in our country, the reactionary forces within the Democratic Party work hand in glove with the Tory Republicans to bring about the defeat of the progressive measures of the administration.

This was evidenced by the position taken by the coalition of reactionaries against President Roosevelt's proposals for W.P.A. appropriations, on the appointment of Justice Roberts, on discharging the infamous Dies Committee, on the fortification of Guam. The administration's victory in connection with its general

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armament proposals—which the reactionaries did not dare to oppose in an open fight is due to (1) the tremendous anti-fascist sentiment of the American people, and (2) the desire in certain capitalist circles to preserve capitalist interests in Latin America.

In the light of the national and international situation, as viewed by our Party, it is necessary that May Day this year take primarily the character of struggle in defense of democracy, concentrating mainly on the vital issues confronting the American people at this time, namely, *Social and National Security.*

It is on such issues that the working class, the toiling people of America from shops, farms and offices must voice their support of the progressive measures of the administration, against the maneuvers of the reactionaries of both parties.

Concretely, the main slogans around which the broadest masses must be united are:

1. In defense of and for the continuation and improvement of the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

2. In defense of W.P.A., for increased appropriations—against any reductions; for the National Health Bill; for the housing projects, and all progressive economic measures.

3. For the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

The main slogan around which the masses must voice their determination is *the struggle for jobs, as the principal road toward recovery.*

May Day must be further connected with an intensified struggle against the combination of reactionary and fascist forces, with the demand for the sharpest struggle against Nazi and fascist penetration, against the anti-Semitic campaign of the reactionaries and fascists. The American people must express on this May Day their determination to make the United States government a more persistent and energetic factor in the struggle for concerted peace action.

In this respect, May Day must raise the slogan of the *abrogation of the Neutrality Law,* which has been an instrument of aid to the aggressors; the slogan of an *embargo against the fascist "triangle"—Japan, Germany and Italy.* Concretely, qualified support must be urged for Senator Thomas' amendment to the Neutrality Act, which, despite all its weaknesses, is to date the best proposal in Congress. We must demand further, closer cooperation between the United States of America and the Soviet Union—the peoples and the governments—as a means of strengthening the forces of democracy throughout the world, as one of the means of forcing the double-crossers—the Chamberlains, Daladiers and Hoovers—out into the open.

This position against the fascist aggressors, against the capitulators of the bourgeois democracies must be connected with the slogans of international solidarity of the world's workers with the people of Spain, China, Czechoslovakia; of solidarity of the workers and all the oppressed in the capitalist world with the people of the Soviet Union; against recognition of Franco; against reprisals in Spain; against recognition of the Hitler pi-

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racy in Czechoslovakia. We must bring forward in the sharpest form the slogan of solidarity between the forces of democracy in the United States and Canada—of the Northern Continent—and the peoples of Latin America, to build this Hemisphere into an impregnable bulwark against fascist penetration and into a Gibralter of support to the forces of democracy and peace throughout the world.

This May Day must become an occasion for promoting among the American masses the full knowledge of the socialist achievements of the Soviet Union. At a time when the new economic crisis is gripping the capitalist world, the great economic and social advances of the Soviet people should be made into an inspiration for the people of America to press forward in their struggle against the efforts of the monopolists to break down their living standards.

Precisely at this time when the consequences of the Munich treachery are becoming apparent even to those who continued to have illusions about the alleged "peace purposes" of the Chamberlains, the solid, dependable peace policy of the Soviet Union stands out powerfully. Precisely at this time world reaction and the Trotskyite-fascist camp are endeavoring to slander the Soviet Union and its glorious peace policy, in order to shunt the blame from the men of Munich.

It is important that we utilize every occasion and every opportunity to demonstrate the unshakable loyalty of the Soviet Union in its alliances, the lone stand that it took last November when it offered unilaterally to aid Czechoslovakia, even though its aid was pledged contingently on joint action with France. We must popularize widely the role of the Soviet Union in helping the Spanish people in their heroic struggle for independence, when the bourgeois democracies were selling them down the river in the name of so-called "non-intervention," a treachery that was aided by the ineffectuality of the Second International, which postponed from month to month the urge of the Communists for united action.

This is known to the people of Spain; it is known to the people of Czechoslovakia; it is known to the people of China; it is known in the hearts and minds of the people of America; but it is being befogged by the self-defensive slander-propaganda of the betrayers and their apologists.

Let us, as never before, launch upon a nationwide campaign of enlightenment on this day of international solidarity to show the international significance of the Soviet peace policy. In this connection, the magnificent report of Comrade Stalin to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be popularized to the fullest extent from press and platform.

One of the main issues to be raised —its form will depend on the results of the unity discussions between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.—is the problem of *trade union unity*. If unity will be achieved before May Day, then May Day will have to raise the slogan for the organization of the millions of the unorganized; the slogan to make every town a union town

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will be the most concrete slogan of this year, a slogan that will come spontaneously from the masses.

Wherever trade union unity has not been achieved, or negotiations are still being carried on, May Day should take the form of the most gigantic demonstration for trade union unity that will force the opponents of unity—the traitors to the American working class—out in the open, to be exposed for what they are. The May Day campaign must be further utilized to expose the enemies, the betrayers of the working people, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites and the bosses' stoolpigeons, the Martins, in the trade union movement.

All the slogans that will be raised this May First must serve to rally the broad masses of the American people in defense of democracy. May Day must take the character of real democratic front demonstrations which will prove, in the most tangible manner, to the Garners of the Democratic Party and the Hoovers of the Republican Party, that the American people have decided to more forward, and not backward—to advance on the road of democracy, for the extension of American democracy which, concretely, means improved social and national security at the expense of the profiteers and monopolists, as the only way to go forward towards recovery and prosperity.

From an organizational point of view, the problem before our Party is how to make of our comrades in the various cities, in the trade unions and mass organizations one of the driving forces for mobilizing the broad masses in a powerful democratic front demonstration. Concretely, it means that we must support the progressives in every trade union and mass organization, in their initiative for building united front committees that will call upon trade unions, mass organizations, peace organizations, etc., to participate at mass conferences where the plans for May Day will be presented and discussed. It is only in those places where the trade union movement is very weak, or led by reactionaries, that our Party will appeal to the masses in its own name.

In the main centers, wherever united front committees will be established, our Party will support the May Day demonstration with full vigor by issuing leaflets, by calling meetings in the neighborhoods, etc. We must begin at once to mobilize along these lines, get the branches in the neighborhoods to connect their activities with the May Day preparations.

As soon as the manifestoes of the United Front Committees are issued the branches of the Party will have to become vehicles of the slogans launched by the United Front Committees in the neighborhoods, not only by calling mass meetings, street corner meetings, but by issuing special editions of neighborhood papers, leaflets, etc.

May Day, 1939, must bring into the public squares of America, not only the organized masses of the trade unions and other organizations, but also the unorganized people.

In preparation for May First, through the activities of the Party members connected with the various mass organizations, let us intensify all phases of struggle in defense of

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democracy, such as the campaign against the Neutrality Law, the campaign for upholding the Wagner Act. It is in this period that the branches of the Party will have to intensify their activities around the concrete issues in their communities. From now on until May First, all branches of the Party must not only work out their own recruiting plan, but initiate an immediate recruiting drive in connection with various activities.

While all the above-proposed slogans for May Day embody the aims of the toiling people of America, the Party as such must raise an additional slogan—*build the Party,* promote its press and literature, by broadening its mass work, by intensified recruiting!

Let May Day be turned into a day of vigorous democratic front action against the enemies of the people within the land, and of international solidarity with the democratic forces of the entire world!

MAY DAY 1939

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"May Day is a high point in the marshalling of labor's forces. Unity of labor for social and national security is our slogan, the slogan of all progressives. May labor play its part in placing America in the front ranks in defense of democracy and for defeat of reaction and fascism!"—p. 15.

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TRIBUTE TO A GREAT LEADER

NADEZHDA KONSTANTINOVNA KRUPSKAYA

February 26, 1869—February 27, 1939.

BY IRENE BROWDER

"Never, never, will we give up a single conquest of the Revolution." (*Memories of Lenin,* by N. K. Krupskaya.)

ON FEBRUARY 27, 1939, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communists of the whole world, and the toiling people everywhere, suffered a great loss. Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, life-long companion of Lenin, his closest friend and collaborator, died.

Krupskaya devoted her entire life to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Her devotion was marked by the utmost self-abnegation and modesty. She was at Lenin's side from first to last, from the first formation of Social-Democratic circles in the early 1890's, in the long years of struggle before and after the great October Revolution.

A life so rich in history-making experience and achievement cannot be summarized in the few pages of this brief tribute. Some biographical facts, some appreciations of her co-workers, and especially some characteristic expressions of this great woman herself that reveal the breadth and profundity of her understanding, the warm humanity of her spirit, must be our material.

* * *

Krupskaya was born in St. Petersburg on February 26, 1869, into a family connected with radical circles. At the age of 14, she began to earn her living by teaching. Soon after, she became acquainted with the Marxist movement, in which she met Lenin, when he first came to St. Petersburg in 1893. Through their common participation in the organization, education, and struggle of the workers, they became close friends and finally companions for life.

Early in her career as revolutionist, Krupskaya was arrested by the tsarist police, for her work in the preparation of a weavers' strike in 1896. After seven months in prison, she was banished to the Ufa District for three years. Lenin was arrested in the same period, and banished to a remote village in Siberia named Shushnenskaya. Krupskaya secured her own transfer to the more remote Siberian district, on the grounds of being Lenin's fiancée. She rejoined Lenin in 1898, since which time the two were inseparable.

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With Krupskaya went her mother, who devoted the rest of her life to the same cause, taking upon herself the care of home and everyday chores, and helping the cause in her modest fashion.

The Siberian banishment was followed by voluntary exile to Western Europe. There, from 1901 to 1903, Krupskaya became one of the important links in the organizational chain then being forged by Lenin; she was editorial secretary for *Iskra*, the famous newspaper published abroad and smuggled into Russia, through which Lenin laid the foundations of his Party. Later she became secretary of the Bolshevik fraction of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, charged with the task of correspondence, for the most part illegal communication with Russia, where the Party was outlawed by the tsarist government.

She returned to Russia with Lenin at the time of the Revolution of 1905, and went abroad with him again in 1907, after the suppression of the Revolution. From 1905 to 1908, she was Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. In 1915-16, she wrote the book, *Popular Education and Democracy*, in which she set forth the Marxian view of public education, which became her life-work. In April, 1917, she returned to Russia with Lenin, and took an active part in the preparation of the October Revolution.

She participated in the Sixth Party Congress; she was an active worker in the Vyborg section of the Petrograd Party organization, and a member of the local Duma. After the October Revolution, under the Soviet power, she became an outstanding leader in public education; her contributions in this field brought her the decorations of the Order of Lenin, and the Banner of Labor.

Krupskaya's characteristic feature as leader, as Bolshevik, was her unlimited devotion and faithfulness to the working class cause, which dominated her whole being. In the days after Lenin's death, in January, 1924, her personal loss was subordinated, with the utmost stoicism, to the great cause that both served. This was manifested in a speech which she delivered on January 26, 1924, to the Second Congress of Soviets, a speech of superb simplicity and power. The character of Krupskaya is contained in the words she uttered in that solemn moment:

> "My words will least of all resemble a speech in parliament. But, addressing myself to the representatives of the republics of the toilers, to my dear close comrades, who have now the task of building life on new foundations, I think that I can avoid being conventional.
>
> "In the days when I stood at the bier of Vladimir Ilyich, I thought over his whole life. His heart beat with burning love for all toilers, for all oppressed. He never spoke of this himself, and, probably, I would not speak of it if this were a less solemn moment. But I speak of it because he inherited this feeling from the heroic Russian revolutionary movement. This feeling caused him to seek passionately an answer to the question: What should be the path to the liberation of the toilers?
>
> "He received his answer from Marx. He did not approach Marx as a scholastic; he approached Marx as a person seeking answers to tormenting, pressing questions. There he found the answers. With these answers he went to the workers. That was in the 'nineties. He could not speak at

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meetings then. He went to the study circles of the Petrograd workers. He went to tell them what he had found out from Marx; to tell them of the answers that he had found. But he went to the workers, not as a superior teacher, but as a comrade. He did not only speak and relate things; he listened attentively to what they told him. And the Petrograd workers told him not only about the conditions in the factory, but also about the oppression in their villages.

"In the Hall of the Trade Unions, at the bier of Vladimir Ilyich, I saw one of the workers who was in that former time in the study circle of Vladimir Ilyich. He was a peasant of the Tula District. This peasant, a worker in the Semyenikovsky factory, used to say to Vladimir Ilyich: 'Here in the city, it is difficult for me to explain everything; I will go to my village in the Tula District, and will transmit to my relatives and other peasants everything you have said. They will believe me. I am part of them. There, no gendarmes will be able to interfere.'

"Now we speak a great deal of the alliance between workers and peasants. This alliance, comrades, is given to us by history itself because a Russian worker is, on the one hand, a worker, and on the other, a peasant.

"Work among the Petrograd workers, talks with them, attentively listening to their words, helped Vladimir Ilyich to understand the great idea of Marx, that the working class is the advance detachment of all toilers. The very fact that it is the advanced detachment, that it leads the masses of toilers and oppressed—in this lie its strength and the guarantee of its victory. Only as leader of all the toilers can the working class be victorious.

"Vladimir Ilyich understood this when he worked among the Petrograd workers. This understanding, this idea, illuminated all his future work, his every step. He wanted power for the working class; he understood that power is necessary for the working class, not in order to build a good life for itself at the cost of other toilers; he understood that the historical task of the working class is the freedom of all the oppressed, all the toilers.

"This basic idea influenced the entire work of Vladimir Ilyich.

"Comrades, representatives of the Soviet Republics, the republics of the toilers, I address myself to you, I ask that you take especially to heart these ideas of Vladimir Ilyich.

"Vladimir Ilyich, our beloved, our own, has died. Comrades Communists, raise higher the cherished banner of Lenin!

"Comrades workers and working women, comrades peasants and peasant women, toilers of all the world, close ranks, stand under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of Communism!"

* * *

Krupskaya was one of the initiators and first organizers of the international women's movement. While in exile, in Siberia, she studied the problems of women, and wrote an important pamphlet on the subject—the first ever published by the Russian Social-Democrats. In 1915 she was a delegate to the International Women's Conference and, together with the Russian delegation, was in the minority which presented a resolution against the war. Later, she always took an active part in mobilizing the women for the construction of socialism, not only the working women, but also the peasant women, and those of the different nationalities especially oppressed under tsarism, while never forgetting the women of other lands. She repeatedly urged that special attention be paid to the development of the young women and girls and to involving them in social life. A typical utterance of hers follows:

"We must never forget that the active people must lead in their wake all the young women in the cities and in the countryside. We have a splendid active section of Young Communist girls, but if we look at the masses of young women as a

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whole, we see that there are still many survivals of the past in people's modes of life. And in this connection a lot of everyday work is essential. One of these survivals of the past is the cultural backwardness of women. This backwardness greatly hinders our women and girls in their work and their social activities."

Krupskaya lived to see great progress in realizing the task she had set. Women are coming forward in all walks of life, industrial, scientific, cultural, and political, in ever increasing numbers. But Krupskaya was no feminist; she always emphasized that the problems of womankind could be solved only in the common struggle of men and women together; she mobilized the women for *social,* not separate, activity, and she herself embodied this aim.

Krupskaya took an active part in the movement of young people. She paid much attention to the problems of youth education, and the care of children. Childless herself, she did not become a dry mentor on educational problems, but took the children close to her heart, especially the neglected and homeless ones, and displayed a great love for them, with sustained attention to the problems of their education. As Chairman of the Scientific Pedagogical Section of the Highest Academic Council of the Republic, she contributed much to the monumental achievement of the Socialist Republic in the field of education and culture. Merely to list such contributions would require a special book.

In 1929, Krupskaya wrote about the connection between education and Soviet political life, as follows:

"There exists a certain connection between the educational level and the activity of the electors. What did Comrade Lenin say? 'He who cannot read and write stands outside of politics.' The urban population possesses a higher level of education than the rural, and therefore the activity of the electors of the town is greater. At the last elections the participation in the towns was 50.7 per cent; in the villages 47.6 per cent. Meanwhile the liquidation of illiteracy has made progress, but more in the town than in the country. In the country the increase among those able to read and write is chiefly due to the women.... We must bring the election participation up to 100 per cent. This will, however, only be possible when we have achieved 100 per cent success in our campaign against illiteracy."

Less than ten years later, before her death, Krupskaya witnessed in the elections under the new Stalinist Constitution, the realization of her dream of practically 100 per cent participation in elections, reflecting a condition of practically universal literacy in the Soviet Union. She responded to the new conditions with a new demand:

"Merely to be literate no longer satisfies the masses. At the level of economic and social life which our Land of Soviets has now reached, the masses need knowledge that will open the road to independent creative work."

The key to education, Krupskaya never tired of pointing out, is the theory of communism. In 1936, she said to a Conference of Wives of Business Managers and Engineers:

"A knowledge of the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is necessary to all, to Party members and non-Party Bolsheviks, for it is only by mastering this doctrine that one is able to get a proper understanding of surrounding life, which is often very complex. We are all learning; things don't work out otherwise. Working in the People's Commissariat of Education we have

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to do homework every night. Life raises some problem or other, and in order to find the solution one has to look over a number of books, familiarize oneself with various documents. Comrades, all of us Soviet functionaries study as hard as our children. And we have to study still more. The more we know, the better our work will be organized."

Krupskaya together with Lenin, was ever sensitively studying the problems of the family in relation to society. She saw the forces set in motion by decaying capitalist society at work disintegrating the family. She knew that a task of the new society, of socialism, was the reintegration of the family upon a higher level. Hers was one of the calmest and sanest voices speaking on this question, especially among the women for whom this problem was most pressing. Her serene wisdom was a potent influence in the emergence of the new socialist family that is creating a new humanity.

A few selections from Krupskaya's talks with the people on such problems, her simplicity, directness, and wisdom, will round out a political picture of this people's leader.

"Family life can lead to great happiness if it is based on mutual love. But by love we must understand not only the satisfaction of a healthy sex instinct. This feeling, which is a source of much joy, should go together with an ideological kinship, with a striving towards the same goal, with a fight for a common cause.

"I remember how once when I was working in the Vyborg District of Petrograd during the war I got to talking with a certain working woman. She said:

" 'Now that my husband is at the front I can't sleep nights wondering if he is alive or not.'

"It was evident that she loved him.

" 'Here is what I often think about,' she went on. 'I'm a Bolshevik now, and can't even imagine living without the Party and without being active as a Bolshevik. When my husband comes back from the front what views will he hold? Maybe he's against the Bolsheviks. Then that will be the end of our life together. How can we go on living together if I am for the Bolsheviks and he's against them? We'll have to split.'

"All these words of hers are right; love is all very well, but to live together people must have the same point of view. Otherwise there will be no realy family life such as can bring happiness to people."

Speaking of her observations while living among the emigrés in Western Europe, she said:

"I was amazed by the firm hold that the old survivals had in everyday life....When we lived in emigration, abroad, we would now and then see how at a meeting a person would speak very radically, with great determination and fine phrases, and when he got home he would be a regular petty-bourgeois; would shout at his wife; would treat the children as his property; would get drunk—and all this would be considered his private affair. The influence of our bourgeois surroundings made itself felt here. This bourgeois influence greatly affected everyday life."

* * *

In her *Memories of Lenin,* Krupskaya traces many of the political discussions and polemics out of which the Party program was formulated and the preparations were made for the great victories of October and the construction of socialism. Americans will be especially interested in the discussions on the national question and self-determination, which began at the Second Party Congress and became acute again on the eve of the World War, in 1913-14. Krupskaya records that Lenin wrote a special article entitled "Russians and Ne-

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groes," in which he showed how the oppression of one nationality puts the stamp of cultural backwardness upon the entire country where such a relationship exists.

Krupskaya was always a Party leader, a founder of the Bolshevik Party, solid and unwavering. In all the historic battles against opportunism, whether of the "Left" or Right, she was among the first-line fighters. At the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Party Congresses, in the battles which led to the cleansing from the Party of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite wreckers and agents of fascism, Krupskaya took her place solidly with the Central Committee and with Stalin, the continuer of Lenin's work. In her *Memories* she tells how, in emigration, "the struggle against the liquidators, the Trotskyites, and other opponents had hardened the group; it did a great deal to help the work in Russia, promoted a certain amount of work among the French workers, and among the masses of the emigrant Russian workers." She continued that struggle until her last days.

* * *

"There is no place in our country," she declared in 1936, "for the traitors to the socialist fatherland, for those who want to restore capitalism, for those assassins, spies and diversionists—the Trotskyite bandits and their accomplices, the Right renegades. We will sweep our beautiful Soviet land clean of all this filth."

Krupskaya never missed the opportunity to stress the role of a Bolshevik leader as a teacher of the masses, and of all teachers as bearers of the wisdom of Lenin and Stalin. In an address to teachers in 1936, she said:

"The teacher's profession is now one of the most responsible and one of the most thankful. The part played by this profession and its importance will continue to grow more and more.

"But for the teacher actually to carry out this truly great task that now faces him, he must first of all work ceaselessly to improve himself, to acquire knowledge in a Leninist way, to learn to work as Lenin taught and as Stalin teaches us. He must train himself to be a collectivist organizer, a real Communist."

Reviewing the great victories of socialist construction, Krupskaya makes a conclusion, which may well be the concluding paragraph of this tribute to a great women and a great leader:

"These victories have been won thanks to the leadership of our Party, to the leadership of Comrade Stalin. These victories are inspiring. The great Stalin Constitution has recorded what has already been won, what has been achieved in our country. It makes possible an even more widespread and energetic struggle of the millions for the highest stage of communism, for a still brighter and happier life."

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AMERICA'S YOUTH IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL AND NATIONAL SECURITY

BY CARL ROSS
Executive Secretary, Young Communist League

DURING the short span of years since the crash of '29, a generation of young men and women has come of age. A new generation of 21,000,000 between the ages of 16 and 25 has emerged in this decade of "hard times." To guarantee their birthright of opportunity and security represents one of the major problems facing the nation. Eight million of these young men and women will be eligible to cast their first ballot in the presidential election in 1940; they constitute a potentially powerful political force that may be able to turn the tide in favor of progress or reaction.

As we approach the Ninth National Convention of the Young Communist League, and prepare for the decisive struggles ahead, the question must be faced squarely: will the majority of young people unite with the progressive camp, or will the reactionaries be able to divide and break up the growing youth unity, thereby gaining support for the anti-New Deal camp?

It is a matter of vital concern to the whole people that the maximum effort be made to organize the youth for the democratic front. Despite the relative success of the progressives, reaction has not been decisively routed among the youth. This can best be appreciated by briefly reviewing the activities of the youth movement during the past few years.

DRAMATIZING THE YOUTH PROBLEM

The crisis years dealt heavy blows to the dreams and aspirations of American youth. They marked the birth of a "depression generation," faced with a lack of opportunity and perspective, such as has been unknown to America in the past. Affecting alike the working and student youth, the sons and daughters of farmers, the middle class and professionals, the absence of security and the threat of war and fascism rapidly created a generation confronted with special difficulties. Pessimists, seeing only a bleak future for the youth, painted dark pictures of a "lost generation." But the "lost generation" was not slow to find itself.

The impact of events, the growing upsurge of labor and the people, influenced especially the organized young people and hastened the transformation of their large organizations into more democratic and progressive bodies. It was inevitable that this new consciousness should be expressed in a drive for unity and action in the solution of common problems.

Reaction quickly noted the possi-

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bilities of exploiting this situation. In fact, it attempted to use the first American Youth Congress as a vehicle to establish the collaboration of youth organizations upon a reactionary, pro-fascist program. But the progressive forces routed the promoters of the original Youth Congress, eliminated its reactionary features, and launched it upon a progressive path. Thus, the American Youth Congress, based upon the slogans, platform, and initiative of the progressives, has emerged in slightly less than five years as the broadest center for the cooperative activity of American youth. Together with the United Christian Youth Movement, the American Student Union, and similar groups (all products of the same period) it has helped young people to retain their faith in democracy. The American Youth Congress is largely responsible for the fact that no large, that is, really decisive, reactionary center exists among the youth on a national scale.

The activity and purpose of the youth movement in these years centered around *dramatizing the youth problem.* The reactionary forces disclaimed the existence of any youth problem and denied the need for special measures to safeguard young people, and the youth movement responded by bringing its problems before the entire public.

In its *Declaration of Rights of American Youth,* the Youth Congress proclaimed that:

". . . our generation is rightfully entitled to a useful, creative and happy life, the guarantees of which are: full educational and recreational opportunities, steady employment at adequate wages, security in time of need, religious freedom, civil liberties and peace."

The problems of the youth were dramatized by the American Youth Act, and the fight for the realization of its principles was brought before the whole labor and progressive movement and into the halls of the United States Congress. The two "Pilgrimages" to Washington focussed the eyes of the entire nation on the problems of America's youth.

The New Deal administration responded to the needs and demands of youth and gave recognition to their special problems by the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration and by developing cooperative relations with the progressive youth movement. These and other measures have proved to be of real benefit. But they are far from adequate to cope with the situation.

There are nearly 4,500,000 totally unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 24, according to the American Youth Commission. Of these, 500,000 youth are engaged in government emergency work through such agencies as the N.Y.A., C.C.C. and W.P.A. Another 1,500,000 have part-time employment, making a total of approximately 6,000,000 young men and women who are completely or partly unemployed today. The bare figures cannot possibly reveal what this means in terms of frustrated lives; the inability of youth to marry and build homes; the growth in juvenile delinquency, the conditions of ill health that are damaging the lives of a whole generation.

The continued existence of such widespread unemployment and insecurity cannot but constitute a serious menace to democracy, for it provides

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fertile ground for the seeds of fascist ideology.

Already in the 1938 elections, the reactionaries were able to make some inroads among sections of the middle class and farm youth, among those who became demoralized because they never had jobs.

Having placed its problems before the American people, the youth movement must do more than dramatize its plight.

The very successes achieved by the youth movement may be turned into defeat unless practical proposals are presented to solve the plight of the young generation, unless it moves forward to win substantial additional concessions for youth. A qualitative change is required in the slogans and demands of the youth movement. In order to defeat the counter-offensive of reaction against the youth movement and the New Deal, it is imperative that a higher quality of organization and activity be developed.

NEW TACTICS OF REACTION

Reaction has intensified its activity among the youth, exploiting old slogans in new forms. Its objective, as stated, is to destroy their unity and win the youth to the Republican banner in 1940. What it has not been able to achieve by headlong attack, it is now determined to accomplish by demagogy, by Red-baiting, by stooges who work from within when attack from without has failed.

The old tory trick of posing the future interests of youth against their present needs is again being paraded out. The cry is raised that the New Deal "mortgages youth's future." Bruce Barton and Thomas Dewey typify the so-called "young guard" who promise youth its place in the sun. Even Herbert Hoover dares to pose as a friend of youth. Reaction counts on the political immaturity of young people and exploits the fact that millions who came of age during the Roosevelt administration have been unable to get jobs. The reactionaries everywhere are organizing an assault against the youth, with a nationwide drive to curtail educational opportunities, and relief measures, and to restrict recreational and public health facilities.

Particularly dangerous is the attack upon the labor movement; here the reactionaries place the blame for unemployment upon the unions. As a matter of fact, a large number of working youth have been "squeezed out" of industry, and many have never had the opportunity to learn a trade. While the trade unions, especially in the mass production industries, have succeeded in improving the living standards and working conditions of the young workers, the enforcement of the principle of seniority has made it more difficult for them to get jobs. Young workers, as a rule, have not the opportunity to acquire seniority or special skill and are often the first to be laid off.

A basic issue has been raised. Will America's young people have the opportunity to work in private industry or are they to depend solely on government assistance? The reactionaries and big employers maintain that if government and the trade unions will abandon the New Deal program, then business with renewed "confidence" will make "real" jobs for youth.

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The only answer to this tactic of reaction is a consistent unfolding of the New Deal program, which will promote industrial recovery and assure increased employment in both government public works and private industry. Furthermore, the labor movement must be the champion of every interest of the youth, however small. It must demonstrate practically that unionization brings job security through enforcement of seniority provisions, that shorter hours and less speed-up mean more jobs, that new opportunities can be provided for apprenticeship and vocational training, that labor can win concessions for increased relief and public works. Nothing short of this will guarantee that reaction shall not attack the progressive movement with telling effectiveness.

YOUTH UNITY MUST BE DEFENDED

Having unfurled its banners as "champions of youth," reaction turns to the organization of whatever forces it is able to recruit. The reactionaries will try to disrupt or even to "capture" sectors of this growing youth unity movement. Recent experiences in Oklahoma bear this out and should serve as a warning to progressives everywhere.

Last December, many citizens of Oklahoma and organizations of young people sponsored the Second Oklahoma Youth Legislature. The first model Legislature, which had met a year before in the halls of the State Capitol, was an outstanding achievement and lesson in citizenship. Confident that they would find the same unanimous agreement and unity, the delegates gathered again, representing farm, labor, Negro, Christian, student aand other youth organizations.

But this time a group of thirty-odd disruptive students of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, reported to have been mobilized and directed by certain reactionary Legionnaires, proceeded to block progress by heckling. Though unable to check the passage of many constructive legislative proposals in the conference panels, this group succeeded, by demagogic appeals to race prejudice and by Red-baiting, in winning sufficient support, and managed apparently to capture majority leadership of this Oklahoma youth movement for the coming year.

This reactionary influence was manifested in a resolution passed by the "Senate" (though defeated by the "House") of the model legislature urging new appropriations to the Dies Committee and favoring similar committees in all states. The source of inspiration of this group is indicated in a statement of the state Legion Americanism Committee chairman, who boasted that, "We're fighting with the youth group here, to do away with Communist influence both at this legislature and the State of Oklahoma." In reality, however, it was the American Youth Congress, the Methodist youth movement, and other equally well-known non-Communist organizations that were under attack.

The progressive youth of Oklahoma are undoubtedly ready to support the leadership in any effort to carry out the progressive resolutions of the legislative panels. But it is far more likely that the organizers and leaders of this Red-baiting group,

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who served as stooges for reaction, intend only to split and break up the movement.

From this setback we must conclude that progressives do not lead the youth movement by "divine right." Their claim to leadership rests in their constant vigilance against every attempt to weaken or destroy youth unity. Reaction will undoubtedly employ its Oklahoma tactic elsewhere, even attempting to build "youth movements" under its own leadership on a more extensive scale. This represents a most serious threat in those localities where the progressive forces have not already taken the initiative for a united youth movement.

YOUTH SUPPORTS THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

The unity of the youth must be solidified and extended further by a struggle for the satisfaction of their practical needs. Such a program is embodied in the social objectives of the New Deal, but not solely, or even primarily, in its special youth planks (N.Y.A., C.C.C., educational programs, etc.).

Young people, in order to defend their own interests, must be drawn into the struggle for the entire New Deal program. For example, in order to achieve greater opportunities for themselves, the youth must support the demands for old-age security.

Likewise, the special interest of young people in economic recovery hinges upon the general and national problems of curbing the power of the monopolies, developing public works, and raising the purchasing power of the whole people. If we are to meet the arguments of the reactionaries about "real jobs" in "private business," it is necessary, not only to extend the public works program of the New Deal, but also to show that precisely the consistent development of the New Deal means jobs for youth in private, as well as public, enterprise.

It is necessary to show that restriction of the New Deal program will further aggravate the economic situation. This is a fight to prevent Big Business from "locking out" a whole generation of young people. It is a fight for vocational training and industrial opportunity which only the extension of New Deal measures against the abuses of monopoly can provide.

It is important to mobilize young people, especially in those states where reactionary Republicans are in power, for the exposure of false Republican promises. In many cases Republican victories were gained in the 1938 elections by promising the youth, along with the people as a whole, reforms that were essentially New Deal in character. The Republicans must be kept to their promises, so that either concrete benefits for young people will result, or the demagogy of the Republicans will have been exposed.

UNITY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Unity within the youth movement will be seriously weakened unless it is further extended to problems of national as well as social security. It is a recognized fact that the organized youth movement, while generally united around broad social objectives, is divided on the question of foreign policy.

To understand this it is necessary to

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recognize that the youth peace movement, which has engaged in such activities as the dramatic student strikes against war, has in the past been based mainly upon collaboration with pacifist trends, as expressed primarily in the leadership of a number of important Christian and student organizations. However, in the post-Munich world, we are faced with a situation in which, not the peace forces, but the war-makers seek an alliance with pacifists, for pacifist tactics especially today lead to surrender before aggression. This realization should, nevertheless, not blind us to the genuine peace desires of the masses influenced by pacifism, and the fact that these sections of young America constitute basically a force for peace, requiring proper direction and leadership.

A reflection of the above-described situation has been the organization of the so-called "Youth Committee Against War." Here the Socialist-Trotskyite-Lovestoneite wreckers working in alliance with sections of the pacifist youth, are trying to build an opposition center to the American Youth Congress and the American Student Union. Reaction has found in this "Committee" a new agency for its disruptive work in the youth movement.

On the other hand, the great majority of youth and their organizations are rejecting this policy. They seek unity around the position expressed by President Roosevelt and embodied in the platform of the Youth Congress and the American delegation to the World Youth Congress.

Unity around a consistent peace program has not yet been achieved. But it is possible to seize hold of this weakness to transform it into new strength. While it has made for difficulties in the struggle for unity, this split in the peace movement has opened the door to collaboration with the great masses of youth who have never been allied with the pacifists.

The objective must be to reach the broadest masses of youth, who, though not having previously participated in peace activities, will respond to an appeal to defend our national security. For instance, undoubtedly a great majority of the thousands of R.O.T.C. students in American schools have desired military drill in order to be better able to defend their peace and security. In the past they rejected every peace movement based upon opposition to armaments or upon a program such as the "Oxford Pledge." Today they are a group that can become active supporters of the movement for peace and democracy. The same may be said for the young people in the Protestant Church organizations, the majority of whom are not pacifists, despite the position of a large section of their leadership.

The possibilities are opened for more extensive and effective unity of the youth for peace than at any time in the past. Its fulfillment depends upon elevating the struggle for peace to a higher level, waging the struggle on the basis of principles, meeting squarely the attacks of the enemies of America's security.

FOR CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

To be effective, the struggle of the youth for social and national security must find political expression and form. In short, the young people who are prepared to participate in the political struggle against reaction must

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be organized as part of the growing democratic front.

A number of obstacles must be eliminated before the youth will wield the maximum political influence. In the first place, they must exercise their right to the franchise. The meager information available indicates that approximately 50 per cent of the young people eligible to vote do not do so. The explanation can be found in a number of factors. An important one is the traditional non-partisan, non-political position of the large youth organizations.

Citizenship training is, therefore, unquestionably a major responsibility of the progressive movement. Too great emphasis cannot be placed upon the simple maxim "get out the vote" where young voters are concerned. Upon the development of this civic consciousness rests the possibility of further political organization of the progressive forces among the youth.

Leaders of youth organizations that are unable to endorse or support candidates for office have sought and found a new form of organization through which to express political unity. This is the "Non-Partisan Youth Committee." It is an effective, tried and tested form of organization, capable of bringing together the most diverse elements, including trade unionists, Protestants, Catholics, and young people of all political affiliations that support the New Deal, for joint campaign activities in behalf of a single progressive candidate. In the future, in the municipal elections of this year, and in 1940, non-partisan committees will undoubtedly prove to be effective forms for unity behind the New Deal and its candidates.

Unquestionably, the youth organizations of the major political parties, the Young Democrats and Young Republicans, will be factors in the organization of young voters on a wider scale than in the past, in view of the crucial character of the 1940 elections. As with the Republican and Democratic Parties, the Young Republicans are being utilized by reaction for anti-New Deal activity; while the Young Democrats represent a growing center of attraction for the youth who follow the leadership of Roosevelt, at the same time, within the Young Democrats, the Garner-Byrd-Glass supporters are maneuvering to knife the New Deal. Clearly, upon the extension of the influence and organization of the Young Democrats and the success of the struggle within the organization against the New Deal's enemies, who are allied with the Tory Republicans, depends to a large extent the effectiveness of youth unity behind the New Deal in 1940.

These numerous problems growing out of the sharpening struggle to organize and win the youth for the democratic front require serious consideration, particularly at this time, on the eve of the Ninth National Convention of the Young Communist League. This convention will help to shape the course of events; for the Y.C.L., through its own activity and growth and by its cooperation with other members of the family of youth organizations, will strengthen the unity of youth for security, peace and democracy. The Communist Party, vanguard organization of the working class, youth as well as adult, will assuredly have to direct greater attention to these complex problems of the youth movement.

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THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE PREPARES FOR GROWTH

BY HENRY WINSTON
National Administrative Secretary, Young Communist League

TWO YEARS have passed since the Eighth Convention of the Young Communist League. That convention was a milestone in the work of the League; its significance lay in the fact that it defined the character of the League under changed domestic and world conditions.

To begin with, that convention followed upon the 1936 Presidential election which focussed the struggle between the main forces of progress, symbolized by President Roosevelt and the New Deal program, and the chief forces of reaction, concentrated around the banner of Landon and the Republican Party.

Big things were happening in that period: the emergence of a new militant industrial trade union movement involving hosts of young workers in its amazing scope and vitality. The people of Spain and China inspired the world with their resistance against fascist invasion. Democracy at home and abroad was encouraged by their heroic resistance and a youth movement of millions was stimulated. All this influenced the thought and actions of the five hundred youthful delegates at the Y.C.L. convention. Clearly, the work of the League was being determined for some time to come.

A fresh approach to the Y.C.L. was necessary—a new conception of our work. This was embodied in the following Declaration of Principles, adopted by the May, 1937, convention:

"The Young Communist League is a permanent university of youth. It is first and foremost an educational organization. Our aim is to educate young people to an understanding of the world in which we live. We want them to learn how to meet the challenge of reaction and war. We want to help them discover the path to the extension of liberty and security. We want to aid them to find the way to the new society.

"But the Y.C.L. believes that real education can come only through both study and action, by combining the study of the basic sciences as illuminated by Marxism-Leninism with active participation in the labor and progressive movement. We know that through this inquiry and effort alone can our generation understand the problems of today and prepare itself to solve the greater problems of tomorrow.

"The Y.C.L. is an organization for education, action and recreation. We seek to provide cultural and social activities and sport and recreational facilities for young people. We want to teach them an appreciation of literature, drama, art and music. We want to enrich their lives, to build their bodies, to develop their characters, to train them for leadership."

The situation which prompted this formulation of the character and tasks of the Y.C.L. has not changed in any

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fundamental way. The developments in world and domestic affairs have drawn the lines of struggle sharper, have made the struggle more intense. But the struggle is still basically the same: For democracy, against fascism; for peace, against war. And the task of transforming the Y.C.L. into the kind of organization that shall effectively help the youth to participate in this struggle is still the main task.

Our discussion revolves, therefore, around the question: To what extent have we accomplished this task? An analysis of our experience will reveal what remains to be done and will teach us how we can best do it.

In general, we can say that the League has made important progress. Since its Eighth Convention, it has grown from 13,000 to 22,000 members, in the course of consistent struggle in the interests of American youth. We find a special symbol of this consistency in the heroic deeds of those hundreds of our comrades who fought on the battlefields of Spain—in the supreme sacrifice made by many of those who were killed in action. Many other youth organizations took part, as we did, in trade union campaigns, in the struggle for the N.Y.A., the extension of the C.C.C., and the hundreds of other local and national issues.

But the Y.C.L. was outstanding in its realization of the close relationship between the struggle for democracy at home and the battle against fascist aggression, particularly the invasion of Republican Spain by Hitler and Mussolini. The whole Y.C.L. has been fired with a deeper enthusiasm by the heroic sacrifice of Dave Doran, Irving Keith, Milton Herndon, and the many other fallen fighters. The whole Y.C.L. will profit from the great contribution which will now be made by those who have returned, enriched by their experiences—comrades like John Gates, Milton Wolff, Bob Thompson, George Watt, Sol Wellman and Jack Waters.

A NEW APPROACH IN BRANCH ACTIVITIES

An investigation of branch life since the Eighth Convention reveals that where a real turn has been made in the direction there indicated, the League has grown and its work has been better. Where a serious attempt has been made to develop a program based on the needs of the branch members, the branches have grown, so that today small units of six, eight and ten, functioning as junior branches of the Communist Party, are rare. The branch meetings have been rich with varied cultural and educational activity, greatly different from those of several years ago. The branch and its activity are entirely new. We have a membership which is largely non-Party, made up of young people who know little or nothing about communism, but who are eager to learn. In New York State, for example, of the more than 10,000 members in the Y.C.L., only 620 belong to the Party. These youth have been attracted to the Y.C.L. branch because of its popular appeal, because the branch began to work in a new way, bringing into its orbit the average progressive youth from the neighborhood, shop or campus.

Thus, the branch is becoming a medium whereby the young people with talent—singers, writers, artists, poets—can express themselves. The

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Y.C.L. is becoming the center of attraction for additional thousands of young people throughout the country.

To achieve the desired results among the youth, it was necessary to carry on an energetic struggle against all tendencies militating against this transformation. It was necessary to clarify our concept of Y.C.L. membership. This is indicated in the By-Laws, in the statement that "all young people regardless of race, color, national or religious beliefs, between the ages of 16 and 30, who are interested in any of the activities of the Y.C.L. are eligible for membership." There are no uniform conditions placed upon young people for admission, not even the acceptance of the full program of the League. Any young person interested in any of the activities of the branch is eligible for membership. Herein lies a fundamental difference between the Party and the Y.C.L.

The understanding of this fundamental concept is the key to grasping the character of the League as essentially an educational organization.

Most of our branches now have this understanding. They realize that if we are to win the youth to the Y.C.L., it is necessary to appeal to them on the basis of their immediate wants and interests, rather than demand of them that they should develop overnight a concern with the broadest and most profound social and political questions. The correctness of this approach is proved by the fact that, on the basis of such an appeal, the Y.C.L. has succeeded in drawing in thousands of new members.

However, there is a further lesson which has not been so widely learned, namely, that it is not enough to know how to *appeal* to the youth, but that it is necessary to know how to help them *satisfy* those needs which prompt them to join our ranks. They enter for many varying reasons. Each wants an opportunity to give expression to his own latent talents and abilities in a way that will at the same time advance the people's welfare and satisfy his own and the group's needs. Each wants to help win jobs for the unemployed, to secure better school and recreational facilities, to fight against crime, to help make youth as a whole more civic and social-minded.

In many cases the branch leadership, because of immaturity and inexperience, was not able to organize such activities, to build such a branch life, as would appeal to, and involve, these new comrades, and so bring them to that broader and deeper understanding which Marxist education can give.

As a result, old methods were often employed mechanically, meetings were dull, attendance fluctuated, some members were lost. Frequently, the leadership was inclined to blame this mainly on the new members and to conclude that it had made a mistake in recruiting them. Inevitably, this led to a tightening up in conditions for admission and to narrowing its membership down to the most active corps, who were usually Party members or politically-developed people.

In other cases, because general campaigns outlined by the League were not related concretely enough to the specific problems of the members, the branch found it difficult to involve

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the whole membership—and the theory would arise that the youth were interested exclusively in social activities, dancing, etc. In some branches the leadership met the situation again by blaming the members, charging them with lack of seriousness—which tended to drive some away. In others, the leadership at first encouraged only the social activities which resulted in the more advanced comrades going into the Party, in some cases leaving the branch leaderless.

All of these difficulties which arise in the daily work of the branch are difficulties of growth. In the process of daily work, many of these problems are being solved. Their solution depends upon the ability of the leadership to learn from the youth, as well as to relate our program to the interests of the youth in such a fashion that they will understand it and desire to participate in carrying it out. Mastery of this approach is the central task of the Y.C.L. today—it is the guarantee of further and more rapid Y.C.L. growth.

The Eighth Convention recognized that, for a time, the Y.C.L. would have to retain many of the structural and organizational features of the Communist Party. At the present stage of Y.C.L. development, it is necessary to re-examine our work to discover what new features must be adopted, and which of the old need to be discarded.

GROUP ACTIVITY

The basic form of connection between the Party and its membership is the Party branch. This has also been true of the Y.C.L. But the branch meetings of the Y.C.L. do not embrace the entire membership and, in many cases, not even the majority. On the other hand, branches that organize their membership on the basis of group activities—each group engaging in whatever activity, sports, dramatics, study circles its members are most interested in—find on the whole a regular and full participation of its membership. We must point out that branch meetings are not the only connection between the Y.C.L. and the membership, but that branch activity groups constitute other avenues of connection with the members. The sale of literature, the collection of dues, etc., can be carried on through these groups as well as the branch meetings. Those Y.C.L.'ers who do not attend meetings regularly but do attend their groups cannot be classified as bad Y.C.L.'ers. This does not mean that efforts should not be made to have the membership participate in branch meetings. The success of these efforts will depend upon two things: the constant improvement of the life of the branch and the educational work of the leadership with the individual member.

It is for this reason that the By-Laws adopted by the Eighth National Convention state that *"all decisions from higher bodies shall be submitted to branches as proposals."* This provision was intended to emphasize the need of developing the widest initiative on the part of the individual members of the branches.

The By-Laws give to the branches the right to divide their membership into groups, squads or committees based on special interests, activities or

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projects, with the branch having the power to elect its own officers in accordance with the needs and desires of the membership. While this has been the established guide for work, experience has shown that because of the pressure of world and national events and the imperative need for action on such issues as Spain, China, the Congressional elections, and W.P.A., the activities of the branches often followed the line of general campaigns. And it could not be otherwise, because of the absence of branch programs related to the specific needs of the youth circles among whom the branch was carrying on activities.

On the other hand, a neglect to link campaigns with an existing concrete program of the branch has resulted in failure to relate all of these world-shaking and national developments to the specific problems in the neighborhood of the branch. It has, in such cases, resulted in failure to increase the knowledge of the League members by showing the relationship of their specific problems and interests to national and international developments. The failure to develop this concrete approach is reflected in the lack of full participation in branch work. Much improvement is required in this connection in order to improve the work of the Y.C.L. as an educational organization. This emphasis on the branch does not mean that less leadership is required from the leading committees; on the contrary, a higher type of leadership is necessary, capable of organizing the interests and talents of youth and relating them to the general objectives of the Y.C.L.

It is clear that we can profit from a study of the technique used by other organizations. The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and other groups have applied successfully the technique of the group method, which has enabled them to have a more regular and systematic contact with their members. This method makes it possible for the leadership to help solve many personal problems. The ability of the leadership to relate their programs to the specific interests of the individual largely accounts for rapid organizational growth. For the Y.C.L. the technique of group leadership is an essential, and our educational work must be strengthened in order that it may become part of our whole equipment. It is important for our branch leaders to study such books on the subject as Grace Coyle's *Studies in Group Behavior,* and Clara Kaiser's *Objectives of Group Work.*

This method of work is doubly necessary today when the Y.C.L. is giving serious attention to building the League among the various national groups, which have special and distinct problems. During the past year the League has shown steady progress among the Irish, Italian, German and other national groups. Can there be any doubt that this growth can be greatly increased if, through the technique discussed, our work is based on the specific problems of each national group? Can there be any doubt that our Y.C.L. would grow much faster among the Negro youth? Herein lies one of the fundamental problems that must be solved in bringing about a more rapid change in the character of the League; and the process of

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building it as an organization of study and action must proceed along these lines.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE NINTH CONVENTION

The Ninth National Convention of the Y.C.L. will convene in May, in New York City. The delegates will have to consider many new and pressing problems arising out of the growth of our organization. In the space of this article, it is possible to indicate only a few of the more basic questions which require solution.

The Eighth Convention correctly decided that our policy of building the Y.C.L. in industry could be fulfilled through the establishment of industrial branches. While recognizing that this form of organization was temporary, but necessary, because the Y.C.L. was in a transitional stage, the branches functioned as a constructive force and helped to stimulate a sports and cultural movement in the trade unions. They assisted the unions in forming picket lines during periods of strikes and helped to educate the union members to an understanding of the role of the union and why young workers should help to build the union.

All this activity resulted in the heightened prestige of the Y.C.L. We were able to attract more and more industrial youth. In examining the new members, we find this interesting picture: many of the industrial branches grew, but the growth was very slight. In some of the branches there was no growth at all. On the other hand, the neighborhood branches recruited a much higher percentage of industrial youth.

In some cases the youth join industrial branches, but generally they prefer to belong to a neighborhood branch. Why is this so? A young worker may work in a shop eight hours a day, but he lives in a certain neighborhood. His friends and contacts are to be found there. He takes his girl friend to the neighborhood movie. He votes in that neighborhood, and goes to the neighborhood church on Sunday mornings. He would like to belong to an organization in a community where he will see familiar faces. He wants to enjoy himself after working hours. He wants relaxation, culture, education, socials and entertainment; and, last but not least, an organization that will develop civic pride and civic consciousnss.

Knowing all this to be true from experience, why not begin to concentrate on building the Y.C.L. in those territories where industrial youth live? Why not transform the present industrial branches into neighborhood branches? Could there be any better way to cement the unity of all youth, to make the Y.C.L. the common meeting ground for all sections of the youth population?

The job of building the unions is not the special task of the Y.C.L. Our aim is to propagate the idea of unionism, and in that way help build the unions. The Y.C.L. can best carry out its function by adhering consistently to its principles as an educational organization. Working properly in the neighborhood, the Y.C.L. can do much to win over literally tens of thousands of new young people for

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the trade union movement and to help them toward an understanding of their class position in society.

WORK ON THE CAMPUS

On the campus, the Y.C.L. has given invaluable assistance in the development of a progressive student movement dedicated to the maintenance and practice of democracy. In this respect, the student movement is making a contribution which has a very definite and positive effect in the whole sphere of public life.

Our League has grown among the students, both in the colleges and in the high schools. We find, however, that there still exist certain unsolved problems which retard our growth on the campus. Many of our comrades are so burdened with extra-curricular activities that they neglect their studies. As a Marxist-Leninist educational organization, certainly, we do not want such a condition to exist. We want an organization that will be of assistance to the students in their studies, rather than a hindrance. Such an approach cannot but increase the prestige of the Y.C.L. and attract to it ever larger sections of the student body.

The League's educational work on the campus is faced with two main problems. First, how can the Y.C.L. relate its Marxist-Leninist understanding to the specific subjects that our students are studying—science, literature, art, history, drama, etc? Secondly, how can the Y.C.L. student be stimulated to a desire for individual study? And we have in mind the study of such subjects as Communist ethics, Communism and Christianity, American history, as well as the basic works of our movement. It is clear that the solution of these problems demands as a first prerequisite the elimination of all those features which make the Y.C.L. appear as a Party organization on the campus; its job must be one of education.

This is especially important among the youth of high school age. We must have a much lighter form of education here—a cultural program, popular science—presented in a manner which takes into account the age level and experience of the member, and greater consideration must be given to the home problems of these young people.

OUR TASKS AMONG THE NEGRO YOUTH

The progress of the League among the Negro youth has been slow, but a movement of broad proportions is developing among them, tackling the basic problems of the day. The need for Negro and white unity is more imperative today than ever before, because of the ever-increasing boldness of the forces of disunity, of reaction and fascism. We have a new situation in our country. Tens of thousands of white youth, by their mass entrance into the trade union and progressive movement, are swiftly moving in the direction of anti-fascist struggle. But many of these young people have not yet completely rid themselves of the ideology of the enemy, the ideology of white chauvinism.

The further growth of the League among the Negro youth depends mainly upon our ability, first, to intensify our educational work within the broad movement, as well as with-

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in the League, against white chauvinism; and, second, to develop our work with a view to answering the specific social, economic and cultural needs of the Negro youth. As in all our work, League building among the Negro youth requires a concrete, neighborhood approach.

From all this, it is obvious that all the energies of the League must be directed toward one goal: making the neighborhood branch the basic organization of our League, the center of attraction for all youth.

The events taking place in our country require a rapid expansion of the Y.C.L. Our League is primarily limited to the larger cities—we are weak in the small towns and farm areas. How to remedy this weakness will be an outstanding problem before the convention.

THE YOUTH IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

It is in these areas that the forces of reaction are concentrating their greatest attention and spending large sums of money. They are making full use of the radio, newspapers, as well as special literature, attempting to tie the youth to the chariot of reaction. The practical problem that presents itself is: how can the League build that type of organization that will meet the specific needs of the small town and farm youth? How can we build a League that will bring them education and culture, entertainment and recreation? In order to grow among these youth, the League must become that organization that will help to transform their drab and dreary existence into a life that is a purposeful, bright and happy one.

That will require the proper selection of people who are able to help accomplish this aim. For the farm youth, the convention will have to work out a program as a basis for effective work which expresses their needs.

At the time of our last convention, conditions in the South made it impossible to build an independent Y.C.L., different in character from the Party. Since then the tremendous changes that have taken place make it possible to launch a League building drive of broad proportions. Here again, in order to become a mass, popular organization, the Y.C.L. must reflect the specific needs and aspirations of the Southern youth. We must likewise turn our attention to building the League in the great Midwest, so that our League can really become a national organization.

Naturally, further progress by the Y.C.L. depends also upon an improvement in our leadership. The changes now taking place in the branches, in the direction of rooting them more firmly in the community and giving greater attention and benefits to the members, make necessary a change in the type of leadership. What is taking place in the branches is a process that will make the Y.C.L., in truth, an educational organization: a civic organization, an organization of culture, of recreation, of song.

In the past we have had a certain standard for our leading personnel. That we were correct then is without question. We shall not lower this standard today. But the new situation necessitates a reconstitution of our

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present leadership with people able to develop specialized forms of activities—cultural, dramatic, sports—for the branches; a leadership able to construct its activities on the basis of what the membership is interested in, giving advice and guidance to help solve the problems of the branch. This must be taken into account in electing our branch, county, state and national leadership. This means, too, greater study on the part of our leaders and teachers to be able to give to the youth a basic understanding of the theory of our movement.

The primary attention of the leadership today must be given to developing these activities within the branches and to building the League. By improving its work along these lines, the Y.C.L. can, in a short time, become a model youth organization.

The role of the League within the community of youth organizations is to develop its own independent program and activities which, if correctly applied, will create greater respect for the Y.C.L. and thus improve its contribution to the unity of youth. This will clearly show that the League does not strive to dominate the youth movement. Its aims are, instead, to give service to its own members and to participate in joint actions with other organizations to further the interests of the youth.

In view of the changing character of the Y.C.L. the direct responsibility of the Party for giving leadership to the young generation requires added emphasis. In all fields of activity in which the Party is involved it should give attention and leadership to the general development and consolidation of the youth movement. In its work among the people in favor of peace, adequate relief, health and housing legislation, for the rights of the Negro people, in its work among the national groups, the Party must give special attention to the economic and social problems of the youth. To be in a position to rally the youth behind our program for national and social security, the Party must develop its own program, mobilizing the youth and the people generally for its support.

It is also imperative that the general progressive and labor movement become fully conscious of this task. This is an essential condition for winning the masses of youth, the 8,000,000 new voters, to the side of progress in the crucial elections of 1940. The progressive leaders in the mass organizations of the national groups, among the Negro people, and especially in the trade union movement, must give greater assistance to building and extending the youth movement around the special economic problems of the youth, as well as the development of an educational, sports and cultural program. This will help to integrate the youth movement with the general progressive movement and help win them for the program of the democratic front.

There exists a great need for improving the literature issued by the Y.C.L. Our literature does not yet sufficiently express the needs and interests of our members, which in most cases reflect the general interests of the wide masses of youth. Young people have dreams and aspirations, eagerness and hope for the future. We

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must learn how to give expression to these dreams and visions. Our literature—the *Young Communist Review*, as well as the pamphlets and books issued by the Y.C.L.—must be written from this youthful point of view.

Branches are required today to solve problems that section, county and city leaderships had to solve in the past. Attention must be given to the establishment of adult advisory groups for the Y.C.L. branches, to assist them in solving many of their complicated problems.

These are a few of the problems related to the further development and growth of Y.C.L. branch life. Inner democracy, education, community programs, all hinge upon our ability to make our branches from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, live, active, interesting centers for young people. That must be our central concern.

Great changes are taking place in the world about us. The thoughts and habits of our generation are influenced and molded by these changes. The fixed conceptions, the prejudices of yesterday, melt away in the strong light of today's reality. The young people of the nation need our League. They want to learn of it and from it. If we work properly, if we correct our shortcomings, if we draw our entire membership into a discussion of our problems and tasks, we will certainly record a membership of 27,000 at the time of our Ninth Convention and an organization of 50,000 members of the Young Communist League by the opening of 1940.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND CAPITALISM

By MAURICE DOBB

Lecturer on Economics at the University of Cambridge

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DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

[*The Editors are pleased to present to the readers of* THE COMMUNIST *the following section from the invaluable* History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), *which has just appeared in English translation.**]

DIALECTICAL materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is *dialectical,* while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is *materialistic.*

Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and its history.

When describing their dialectical method, Marx and Engels usually refer to Hegel as the philosopher who formulated the main features of dialectics. This, however, does not mean that the dialectics of Marx and Engels is identical with the dialectics of Hegel. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from the Hegelian dialectics only its "rational kernel," casting aside its idealistic shell, and developed it further so as to lend it a modern scientific form.

"My dialectic method," says Marx, "is fundamentally not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurge (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea.' With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."*

When describing their materialism, Marx and Engels usually refer to Feuerbach as the philosopher who restored materialism to its rights. This, however, does not mean that the materialism of Marx and Engels is identical with Feuerbach's materialism. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from Feuerbach's materialism its "inner kernel," developed it into a scientific-philosophical theory of materialism and cast aside its idealistic and religious-ethical encumbrances. We know that Feuerbach, although he was fundamentally a materialist, objected to the name materialism. Engels more than once declared that "in spite of the materialist foundation, Feuerbach remained bound by the traditional idealist fetters," and that "the real

* International Publishers, New York.

* Karl Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, p. xxx, International Publishers, 1939.

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idealism of Feuerbach becomes evident as soon as we come to his philosophy of religion and ethics.*

Dialectics comes from the Greek *dialego, to discourse, to debate.* In ancient times dialectics whas the art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in the argument of an opponent and overcoming these contradictions. There were philosophers in ancient times who believed that the disclosure of contradictions in thought and the clash of opposite opinions was the best method of arriving at the truth. This dialectical method of thought, later extended to the phenomena of nature, developed into the dialectical method of apprehending nature, which regards the phenomena of nature as being in constant movement and undergoing constant change, and the development of nature as the result of the development of the contradictions in nature, as the result of the interaction of opposed forces in nature.

In its essence, dialectics is the direct opposite of metaphysics.

I. The principal features of the Marxist *dialectical method* are as follows:

a. Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard nature as an accidental agglomeration of things, of phenomena, unconnected with, isolated from, and independent of, each other, but as a connected and integral whole, in which things, phenomena, are organically connected with, dependent on, and determined by, each other.

The dialectical method therefore holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, inasmuch as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection with the surrounding conditions, but divorced from them; and that, vice versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseparable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena.

b. Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that nature is not a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but a state of continuous movement and change, of continuous renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing, and something always disintegrating and dying away.

The dialectical method therefore requires that phenomena should be considered not only from the standpoint of their interconnection and interdependence, but also from the standpoint of their movement, their change, their development, their coming into being and going out of being.

The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may appear to be not durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing.

"All nature," says Engels, "from the smallest thing to the biggest, from a grain of sand to the sun, from the protista (the primary living cell—Ed.) to man, is in a constant state of coming into being and going

* Karl Marx, *Selected Works,* Vol. I, pp. 439, 442.

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out of being, in a constant flux, in a ceaseless state of movement and change."*

Therefore, dialectics, Engels says, "takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their inter-connection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance."**

c. Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard the process of development as a simple process of growth, where quantitative changes do not lead to qualitative changes, but as a development which passes from insignificant and imperceptible quantitative changes to open, fundamental changes, to qualitative changes; a development in which the qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another; they occur not accidentally but as the natural result of an accumulation of imperceptible and gradual quantitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development should be understood not as movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher:

"Nature," says Engels, "is the test of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical, that it does not move in an eternally uniform and constantly repeated circle, but passes through a real history. Here prime mention should be made of Darwin, who dealt a severe blow to the metaphysical conception of nature by proving that the organic world of today, plants and animals, and consequently man too, is all a product of a process of development that has been in progress for millions of years."*

Describing dialectical development as a transition from quantitative changes to qualitative changes, Engels says:

"In physics . . . every change is a passing of quantity into quality, as a result of quantitative change of some form of movement either inherent in a body of imparted to it. For example, the temperature of water has at first no effect on its liquid state; but as the temperature of liquid water rises or falls, a moment arrives when this state of cohesion changes and the water is converted in one case into steam and in the other into ice. . . . A definite minimum current is required to make a platinum wire glow; every metal has its melting temperature; every liquid has a definite freezing point and boiling point at a given pressure, as far as we are able with the means at our disposal to attain the required temperatures; finally, every gas has its critical point at which, by proper pressure and cooling, it can be converted into a liquid state. . . . What are known as the constants of physics (the point at which one state passes into another—Ed.) are in most cases nothing but designations for the nodal points at which a quantitative (change) increase or decrease of movement causes a qualitative change in the state of the given body, and at which, consequently, quantity is transformed into quality."**

Passing to chemistry, Engels continues:

"Chemistry may be called the science of the qualitative changes which take place in bodies as the effect of changes of quantitative composition. This was already known to Hegel. . . . Take oxygen: if the molecule con-

* F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.
** *Ibid.*

* F. Engels, *Anti-Duhring*.
** *Dialectics of Nature*.

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tains three atoms instead of the customary two, we get ozone, a body definitely distinct in odor and reaction from ordinary oxygen. And what shall we say of the different proportions in which oxygen combines with nitrogen or sulphur, and each of which produces a body qualitatively different from all other bodies!"*

Finally, criticizing Dühring, who scolded Hegel for all he was worth, but surreptitiously borrowed from him the well-known thesis that the transition from the insentient world to the sentient world, from the kingdom of inorganic matter to the kingdom of organic life, is a leap to a new state, Engels says:

"This is precisely the Hegelian nodal line of measure relations, in which, at certain definite nodal points, the purely quantitative increase or decrease gives rise to a *qualitative leap*, for example, in the case of water which is heated or cooled, where boiling-point and freezing-point are the nodes at which—under normal pressure—the leap to a new aggregate state takes place, and where consequently quantity is transformed into quality."**

d. Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions.

"In its proper meaning," Lenin says, "dialectics is the study of the contradiction *within the very essence of things*."*

And further:

"Development is the 'struggle' of opposites."**

Such, in brief, are the principal features of the Marxist dialectical method.

It is easy to understand how immensely important is the extension of the principles of the dialectical method to the study of social life and the history of society, and how immensely important is the application of these principles to the history of society and to the practical activities of the party of the proletariat.

If there are no isolated phenomena in the world, if all phenomena are interconnected and interdependent, then it is clear that every social system and every social movement in history must be evaluated not from the standpoint of "eternal justice" or some other preconceived idea, as is not infrequently done by historians, but from the standpoint of the conditions which give rise to that system or that social movement and with which they are connected.

* *Ibid.*
** F. Engels, *Anti-Duhring*.

* Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Russian ed., p. 263.
** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, pp. 81-2.

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The slave system would be senseless, stupid and unnatural under modern conditions. But under the conditions of a disintegrating primitive communal system, the slave system is a quite understandable and natural phenomenon, since it represents an advance on the primitive communal system.

The demand for a bourgeois-democratic republic when tsardom and bourgeois society existed, as, let us say, in Russia in 1905, was a quite understandable, proper and revolutionary demand, for at that time a bourgeois republic would have meant a step forward. But now, under the conditions of the U.S.S.R., the demand for a bourgeois-democratic republic would be a meaningless and counter-revolutionary demand, for a bourgeois republic would be a retrograde step compared with the Soviet republic.

Everything depends on the conditions, time and place.

It is clear that without such a *historical* approach to social phenomena, the existence and development of the science of history are impossible, for only such an approach saves the science of history from becoming a jumble of accidents and an agglomeration of most absurd mistakes.

Further, if the world is in a state of constant movement and development, if the dying away of the old and the upgrowth of the new is a law of development, then it is clear that there can be no "immutable" social systems, no "eternal principles" of private property and exploitation, no "eternal ideas" of the subjugation of the peasant to the landlord, of the worker to the capitalist.

Hence the capitalist system can be replaced by the socialist system, just as at one time the feudal system was replaced by the capitalist system.

Hence we must not base our orientation on the strata of society which are no longer developing, even though they at present constitute the predominant force, but on those strata which are developing and have a future before them, even though they at present do not constitute the predominant force.

In the eighties of the past century, in the period of the struggle between the Marxists and the Narodniks, the proletariat in Russia constituted an insignificant minority of the population, whereas the individual peasants constituted the vast majority of the population. But the proletariat was developing as a class, whereas the peasantry as a class was disintegrating. And just because the proletariat was developing as a class the Marxists based their orientation on the proletariat. And they were not mistaken, for, as we know, the proletariat subsequently grew from an insignificant force into a first-rate historical and political force.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must look forward, not backward.

Further, if the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a law of development, then it is clear that revolutions made by oppressed classes are a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

Hence the transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism cannot be effected by slow changes, by reforms, but only by a qualitative change of the capitalist system, by revolution.

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Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must be a revolutionary, not a reformist.

Further, if development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

Hence we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromisers' policy of "the growing of capitalism into socialism."

Such is the Marxist dialectical method when applied to social life, to the history of society.

As to Marxist philosophical materialism, it is fundamentally the direct opposite of philosophical idealism.

II. The principal features of Marxist philosophical *materialism* are as follows:

a. Contrary to idealism, which regards the world as the embodiment of an "absolute idea," a "universal spirit," "consciousness," Marx's philosophical materialism holds that the world is by its very nature *material,* that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion, that interconnection and interdependence of phenomena, as established by the dialectical method, are a law of the development of moving matter, and that the world develops in accordance with the laws of movement of matter and stands in no need of a "universal spirit."

"The materialist world outlook," says Engels, "is simply the conception of nature as it is, without any reservations."*

Speaking of the materialist views of the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, who held that "the world, the all in one, was not created by any god or any man, but was, is and ever will be a living flame, systematically flaring up and systematically dying down," Lenin comments: "A very good exposition of the rudiments of dialectical materialism." **

b. Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our mind really exists, and that the material world, being, nature, exists only in our mind, in our sensations, ideas and perceptions, the Marxist materialist philosophy holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our mind; that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, ideas, mind, and that mind is secondary, derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter which in its development has reached a high degree of perfection, namely, of the brain, and the brain is the organ of thought; and that therefore one cannot separate thought from matter without committing a grave error. Engels says:

"The question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to nature is the paramount question of the whole of phil-

* *MS of Ludwig Feuerbach.*

** Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks,* Russian ed., p. 318.

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osophy. . . .The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature . . . comprised the camp of *idealism*. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of *materialism*."*

And further:

"The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality. . . . Our consciousness and thinking, however supra-sensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter."*

Concerning the question of matter and thought, Marx says:

"It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks. Matter is the subject of all changes."*

Describing the Marxist philosophy of materialism, Lenin says:

"Materialism in general recognizes objectively real being (matter) as independent of consciousness, sensation, experience. . . . Consciousness is only the reflection of being, at best, an approximately true (adequate, ideally exact) reflection of it."**

And further:

a. "Matter is that which, acting upon our sense-organs, produces sensation; matter is the objective reality given to us in sensation. . . . Matter, nature, being, the physical—is primary, and spirit, consciousness, sensation, the physical—is secondary.**

b. "The world picture is a picture of how matter moves and of how *'matter thinks.'*"**

c. "The brain is the organ of thought."**

c. Contrary to idealism, which denies the possibility of knowing the world and its laws, which does not believe in the authenticity of our knowledge, does not recognize objective truth, and holds that the world is full of "things-in-themselves" that can never be known to science, Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that our knowledge of the laws of nature, tested by experiment and practice, is authentic knowledge having the validity of objective truth, and that there are no things in the world which are unknowable, but only things which are still not known, but which will be disclosed and made known by the efforts of science and practice.

Criticizing the thesis of Kant and other idealists that the world is unknowable and that there are "things-in-themselves" which are unknowable, and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our knowledge is authentic knowledge, Engles writes:

"The most telling refutation of this as of all other philosophical fancies is practice, *viz.*, experiment and industry. If we are able to prove the correctness of our conception of a natural process by making it ourselves, bringing it into being out of its conditions and using it for our own purposes into the bargain, then there is an end of the Kantian 'thing-in-itself.' The chemical substances produced in the bodies of plants and animals remained such 'things-in-themselves' until organic chemistry began to produce them one after another, whereupon the 'thing-in-itself' became a thing for us, as for instance, alizarin, the coloring matter of the madder, which we no longer trouble to grow in the madder roots in the field, but produce much more cheaply and simply from coal tar. For three hundred years the Copernican solar system was a hypothesis, with a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand chances to one in its favor, but still always a hypothesis. But when Leverrier, by means of the data provided by this system, not only deduced the necessity of the existence of an unknown planet, but also calculated the position in the heavens which this planet must necessarily

* Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 430-31, 435, 397.
** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, pp. 378, 208-209, 403, 125.

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occupy, and when Galle really found this planet, the Copernican system was proved."*

Accusing Bogdanov, Bazarov, Yushkevich and the other followers of Mach of fideism, and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our scientific knowledge of the laws of nature is authentic knowledge, and that the laws of science represent objective truth, Lenin says:

"Contemporary fideism does not at all reject science; all it rejects is the 'exaggerated claims' of science, to wit, its claim to objective truth. If objective truth exists (as the materialists think), if natural science, reflecting the outer world in human 'experience,' is alone capable of giving us objective truth, then all fideism is absolutely refuted."**

Such in brief, are the characteristic features of the Marxist philosophical materialism.

It is easy to understand how immensely important is the extension of the principles of philosophical materialism to the study of social life, of the history of society, and how immensely important is the application of these principles to the history of society and to the practical activities of the party of the proletariat.

If the connection between the phenomena of nature and their interdependence are laws of the development of nature, it follows, too, that the connection and interdependence of the phenomena of social life are laws of the development of society, and not something accidental.

Hence social life, the history of society, ceases to be an agglomeration of "accidents," and becomes the history of the development of society according to regular laws, and the study of the history of society becomes a science.

Hence the practical activity of the party of the proletariat must not be based on the good wishes of "outstanding individuals," not on the dictates of "reason," "universal morals," etc., but on the laws of development of society and on the study of these laws.

Further, if the world is knowable and our knowledge of the laws of development of nature is authentic knowledge, having the validity of objective truth, it follows that social life, the development of society, is also knowable, and that the data of science regarding the laws of development of society are authentic data having the validity of objective truths.

Hence the science of the history of society, despite all the complexity of the phenomena of social life, can becomes as precise a science as, let us say, biology, and capable of making use of the laws of development of society for practical purposes.

Hence the party of the proletariat should not guide itself in its practical activity by casual motives, but by the laws of development of society, and by practical deductions from these laws.

Hence socialism is converted from a dream of a better future for humanity into a science.

Hence the bond between science and practical activity, between theory and practice, their unity, should be the guiding star of the party of the proletariat.

Further, if nature, being, the material world, is primary, and mind, thought, is secondary, derivative; if

* Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 432-33.

** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, p. 189.

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the material world represents objective reality existing independently of the mind of men, while the mind is a reflection of this objective reality, it follows that the material life of society, its being, is also primary, and its spiritual life secondary, derivative, and that the material life of society is an objective reality existing independently of the will of men, while the spiritual life of society is a reflection of this objective reality, a reflection of being.

Hence the source of formation of the spiritual life of society, the origin of social ideas, social theories, political views and political institutions, should not be sought for in the ideas, theories, views and political institutions themselves, but in the conditions of the material life of society, in social being, of which these ideas, theories, views, etc., are the reflection.

Hence, if in different periods of the history of society different social ideas, theories, views and political institutions are to be observed; if under the slave system we encounter certain social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, under feudalism others, and under capitalism others still, this is not to be explained by the "nature," the "properties" of the ideas, theories, views and political institutions themselves but by the different conditions of the material life of society at different periods of social development.

Whatever is the being of a society, whatever are the conditions of material life of a society, such are the ideas, theories, political views and political institutions of that society.

In this connection, Marx says:

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."*

Hence, in order not to err in policy, in order not to find itself in the position of idle dreamers, the party of the proletariat must not base its activities on abstract "principles of human reason," but on the concrete conditions of the material life of society, as the determining force of social development; not on the good wishes of "great men," but on the real needs of development of the material life of society.

The fall of the utopians, including the Narodniks, Anarchists and Social-Revolutionaries, was due, among other things, to the fact that they did not recognize the primary role which the conditions of the material life of society play in the development of society, and, sinking to idealism, did not base their practical activities on the needs of the development of the material life of society, but, independently of and in spite of these needs, on "ideal plans" and "all-embracing projects" divorced from the real life of society.

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lie in the fact that it does base its practical activity on the needs of the development of the material life of society and never divorces itself from the real life of society.

It does not follow from Marx's words, however, that social ideas, theories, political views and political institutions are of no significance in the life of society, that they do not reciprocally affect social being, the development of the material conditions of the life of society. We have been

* Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 356.

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speaking so far of the *origin* of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, of the *way they arise,* of the fact that the spiritual life of society is a reflection of the conditions of its material life. As regards the *significance* of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, as regards their role in history, historical materialism, far from denying them, stresses the role and importance of these factors in the life of society, in its history.

There are different kinds of social ideas and theories. There are old ideas and theories which have outlived their day and which serve the interests of the moribund forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they hamper the development, the progress of society. Then there are new and advanced ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they facilitate the development, the progress of society; and their significance is the greater the more accurately they reflect the needs of development of the material life of society.

New social ideas and theories arise only after the development of the material life of society has set new tasks before society. But once they have arisen they become a most potent force which facilitates the carrying out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, a force which facilitates the progress of society. It is precisely here that the tremendous organizing, mobilizing and transforming value of new ideas, new theories, new political views and new political institutions manifests itself. New social ideas and theories arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is *impossible* to carry out the urgent tasks of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action. Arising out of the news tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society.

Thus social ideas, theories and political institutions, having arisen on the basis of the urgent tasks of the development of the material life of society, the development of social being, themselves then react upon social being, upon the material life of society, creating the conditions necessary for completely carrying out the urgent tasks of the material life of society, and for rendering its further development possible.

In this connection, Marx says:

> "Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."*

Hence, in order to be able to influence the conditions of material life of society and to accelerate their development and their improvement, the party of the proletariat must rely upon such a social theory, such a social idea as correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, and which is therefore capable of setting into motion broad masses of the people and of mobilizing them

* *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie.*

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and organizing them into a great army of the proletarian party, prepared to smash the reactionary forces and to clear the way for the advanced forces of society.

The fall of the "Economists" and Mensheviks was due among other things to the fact that they did not recognize the mobilizing, organizing and transforming role of advanced theory, of advanced ideas and, sinking to vulgar materialism, reduced the role of these factors almost to nothing, thus condemning the Party to passivity and inanition.

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism are derived from the fact that it relies upon an advanced theory which correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, that it elevates theory to a proper level, and that it deems it its duty to utilize every ounce of the mobilizing, organizing and transforming power of this theory.

That is the answer historical materialism gives to the question of the relation between social being and social consciousness, between the conditions of development of material life and the development of the spiritual life of society.

A CONSULTATION DEPARTMENT FOR STUDENTS OF THE "HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U. (B.)"

(Editorial Announcement)

THE COMMUNIST greets the appearance of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)* in the English language.

The history of the Bolshevik Party is the history of struggle against exploitation, against oppression. It is the history of the struggle for the overthrow of tsarism, for the overthrow of the landlords and capitalists. It is the history of struggle for freedom and the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

The history of the Bolshevik Party is the history of three revolutions—the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February, 1917, and the socialist revolution of November, 1917.

The history of the Bolshevik Party is the history of the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Exploiting classes have been eliminated; there are no longer any antagonistic classes; national oppression and national enslavement have been replaced by the brotherhood of peoples. The highest form of democracy—socialist democracy—has been established, based on economic security and the absence of exploitation.

The history of the Bolshevik Party is the history of the struggle against reactionary wars, against imperialism, against fascism. The book shows that in this period when the "second imperialist war has already begun" without formal declaration of war, the Soviet Union alone by its firm peace policy of resistance to aggressors shines like a beacon light pointing the way to the rest of the world.

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"The history of the Bolshevik Party teaches that a party of the working class cannot perform the role of leader of its class, cannot perform the role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, unless it has mastered the advanced theory of the working class movement, the Marxist-Leninist theory."

The victories won under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, were achieved precisely because it was such a party.

From the beginning, Lenin and Stalin fought unceasingly against all pseudo-Marxist, petty-bourgeois elements that were seeking to dilute Marxism, to nullify its revolutionary content. The history of the Bolshevik Party shows that "the Party became strong by purging itself of opportunist elements," that all these elements became counter-revolutionary even before the October Revolution, and later turned into spies, wreckers and traitors.

The history of the Bolshevik Party shows that Marxism-Leninism, like all science, is constantly developing, scrapping obsolete conclusions and replacing them with theses corresponding to new conditions. Bolshevism extended and enriched Marxism.

The history of the struggles and victories of the Bolshevik Party lights the way for the workers and oppressed peoples the world over. In the words of Comrade Browder:

"Today all the old landmarks are drifting, breaking up, disappearing. The old world is in constantly more profound chaos. For those with foundations only in the old order of things, it is a period of pessimism and despair, while those who would militantly defend the old order of things by stopping progress at all costs pass over to fascism—the bloody and brutal dictatorship of monopoly capital, smashing and destroying culture, science, the arts, and all civilization. For those, however, who are armed with the understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, the way is lighted up through the deepest chaos, pessimism is dissolved, courage and enthusiasm inspire to struggle with calm confidence in the certainty of victory."

It is the duty of every Party and Young Communism League member and of every militant worker to study Marxism-Leninism.

"The fundamental requirement for higher quality of study and school work," as Comrade Browder has declared, "is independent study of verified and authoritative texts." The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)* is in the highest sense such a verified and authoritative text.

The Communist stands ready to help its readers master Marxism-Leninism by explaining and elaborating points that may not be clear to the student of this great history. To this end, *The Communist* offers a regular consultation department, which will deal with questions submitted to the Editors by readers of the *History*.

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THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN MASS AGITATION

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

[*This is the second in Comrade Foster's series of articles on mass organization and struggle. The first article, which appeared in the February issue, dealt with the urgent need for developing a modernized technique of mass organization. Others will follow.*—The Editors.]

ONE of the most serious weaknesses of present-day mass agitation in the United States, with which all sections of the democratic front movement are variously afflicted, is its dry, unemotional and hyper-objective character. That is, the educational work among the toilers lacks the human element; it does not sufficiently reflect the actual life of the people. There is too much of a tendency to neglect a vivid presentation of the stark reality that tens of millions of toilers and their families are in bitter want and are actually suffering under existing conditions; too much of a practice to present the class struggle and the exploitation of the workers as abstract questions of statistics and political trends.

Of the several detachments of the democratic front forces the trade unions are perhaps the worst offenders in considering the masses too matter-of-factly, rather as so many statistical units than as exploited and oppressed human beings. Quite generally, their official journals and other mediums of mass educational work are stifled with dry-as-dust industrial technicalities; and their wage negotiations seldom bring forward the workers themselves to make a real portrayal of actual conditions, but are usually elaborate statistical argumentation, coldly presented by prosperous union officials. (Example: the recent railroad wage negotiations, where not a single worker testified and where the whole business resolved itself into a matter of statistics.) Among the middle-class progressives there is also very largely a rather cold-blooded research approach to the lives and struggles of the masses.

Nor does the Communist Party wholly escape this widespread tendency. We, also, are somewhat inclined to generalize the hardships of the people and to concentrate our attention too closely upon such things as mass trends, statistical quantities, social analyses and general political programs, and often we do this in language that is "Greek" to the workers. True, our speakers and writers deal elaborately with broad questions of unemployment, low rates of wages and relief, the great profits of the capitalists, etc., but too abstractly; seldom do they translate these generalities into vital terms of the an-

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guish, poverty and misery that these things actually mean in the life of the masses.

There are exceptions, of course, among liberals, as well as Left elements, to the customary cold-blooded, generalized statement of the bad conditions of the masses and the remedies to be adopted. President Roosevelt, for example, is notably human in his public utterances. Occasionally, also, a progressive or Left-wing writer effectively portrays the hardships of the masses and expresses heartfelt indignation at the barbarities of the present social system. Just now Paul de Kruif is vividly dramatizing in his books the struggle of the masses for life and health, telling us what is actually happening in the medical profession and among the poverty-stricken sick people.

Indeed, the general discussion that has grown up recently around the question of a federal health program has done much to tear aside the curtains of dry statistics and to uncover the horrible and unnecessary sickness among the masses. Heywood Broun is another in whose writings the human element is prominent. Upton Sinclair, continuing his lifelong exposure of American capitalism, still brings out literature of this vivid type. Then there are the warm and human writings of Mike Gold and M. J. Olgin. In the past several years, also, there seems to be a growing tendency among younger Left-wing writers to get away from their former mechanical and abstract approach to the masses and to write about how the people really live and struggle. And as for exposures of bad capitalist conditions, the LaFollette Committee has done a real job by boldly uncovering the labor-spy and strikebreaker evils in all their ugliness.

But the foregoing instances, to which, of course, many more could be added, serve only to emphasize the fact that for the most part, current Left and progressive mass educational work is too cold and impersonal, smacking rather of statistical departments than of the actual life of the people.

Obviously, there are grave dangers in this tendency toward an unemotional, hyper-objective approach to the masses. The toilers see and feel the evils of capitalism primarily in terms of personal privations and miseries in their homes and work places, and unless we are acutely aware of this fact and constantly expose and condemn these evils on this close-up basis we cannot really grasp the needs and moods of the masses, nor can we make these masses clearly understand the connection between their grievances and our political remedies for them. The current depersonalized approach is, therefore, a barrier to establishing the broadest mass contacts. It runs us into the serious danger of exposing the masses to the demagogy of the fascists, who make it their main stock-in-trade to play upon the emotions and miseries of the people.

SOME LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE

The present-day tendency to adopt an ultra-objective attitude toward the class struggle is out of line with the best traditions of the labor, democratic and revolutionary movements, both here and abroad. The greatest

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popular leaders of our whole period have been men and women whose hearts beat in close sympathy with and in deep knowledge of the hardships and tragedies of the people. They not only knew how the capitalist system worked out but also felt a deep and personal hatred toward the oppressors of the people and expressed themselves eloquently accordingly. They understood how to combine theory and human feelings.

Karl Marx, for example, in his monumental theoretical work, *Capital,* exposed at great length the barbarous British capitalist system and the resultant poverty and degradation of the working class. Engels also, notably in his famous book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844,* did the same. Lenin, especially, besides being profoundly theoretical was warmly human, and his activities and writings expressed the closest contact with the masses and their miseries. And Stalin likewise displays this common characteristic of great revolutionaries; in the midst of the complex theoretical problems which beset him he never fails to stress the necessity of listening closely to what the masses have to say and of reflecting faithfully their grievances. In harmony with all this also is the intense humanness of the Soviet government, with its recognition of toiler heroes of workshop, farm and battlefield, and its airtight fusion at all points with the lives of the masses.

During its earlier stages the broad labor, progressive and revolutionary movement of this country displayed in its mass agitation a greater humanness and close-up reflection of the hardships of the people than it does now. To realize this we need only recall the moving speeches of Debs and Haywood, the dramatic exposures of the workers' poverty in the I.W.W. Lawrence strike in 1912 and in the A. F. of L. packinghouse movement of 1918, etc., or to look back upon the famous school of "muckrakers"—Steffens, Sinclair, Baker, Myers, Russell and others—who, despite their weaknesses of program and analysis, nevertheless made brilliant and detailed dramatizations of capitalist industrial tyranny and political rottenness.

But in recent years, beginning especially with the Coolidge period, we have had less and less of such emphatic, documented and sympathetic exposure of the people's destitution, the brutalities of capitalist exploitation and the corruption of capitalist politics. More and more the statistical, detached, unemotional method of agitation has come to the fore. We now even hear it said that "It is useless to tell the workers they are exploited and poverty-stricken, because they know it already," and often we find people who look upon the prewar muckrakers as naive and futile. All this is an erroneous tendency artificially to separate political theory from "human interest," and grossly to belittle the latter.

The great strength of the mass movement of today is its better theoretical understanding. Especially in the case of the Communist Party, which is far more deeply grounded in the works of Marx and Engels than the Socialist Party ever was, in addition to the Communist Party's foundation on the teachings of Lenin and

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Stalin. Moreover, under pressure of the capitalist crisis, all other sections of the growing democratic front movement are acquiring a clearer understanding of the workings of the economic and political system under which we live. This is all to the good and enormously important. But it is no reason whatever why the human element should be neglected in our mass work. Nor does the emphasis I place in this article upon the human element tend in the slightest degree to underestimate or play down the profound importance of political theory.

WHAT HAS PRODUCED THE DEPERSONALIZED METHOD?

Before considering what can be done to correct this wrong, hyper-objective tendency, which I have been describing, let us first inquire as to what has brought it about. Here the apologists of capitalism have a ready answer. They assert that if we now seldom make the dramatic exposures of the workers' poverty and bad working situation, or of the financial juggling and government corruption, that we once did, the reason therefore is that capitalism in the intervening years has made great strides in improving the workers' status and its own ethics in industrial and political management. Hence, say the apologists, the sharp and incisive criticisms of yesteryear are no longer possible.

But this explanation does not jibe with reality. True, the labor and progressive forces have, to a certain extent, knocked the rough corners, so to speak, off some of the early, most outrageous abuses of capitalism, *e.g.*, in quite some measure as regards the brutal open shop, the excessively long work day, the terrible slum conditions, the total absence of social insurance, etc.* It is also true that the capitalists, with a view to shielding themselves from attack, have adopted new techniques of financial thievery and political corruption that lack their one-time barefacedness. Nevertheless, a consideration of the period of the last two decades shows that the sum total of mass misery, exploitation and destitution in the United States has not been diminished, but, on the contrary, greatly increased.

The general effect of labor reforms and also of the hypocritical changes in capitalist methods in lessening some of the more flagrantly brutal features of capitalist exploitation has been to make the robbery of the toilers somewhat more subtle and less brazen and revolting. But the great mass of human suffering, if less dramatic than in earlier days, nevertheless remains and grows. The Roosevelt administration has done much to improve conditions; but it has not been able to overcome the deadly effects of the destructive rule of monopoly capitalism.

Today the workers are getting a

* Capitalism's handling of prostitution is an example of "knocking off the rough corners" without eliminating the basic evil. Thirty years ago in Western cities the red-light districts were so glaring that actually at night the sky was so red that for a distance one might conclude that that end of the town was on fire. This situation tended to dramatize prostitution enormously and the Socialist speakers of the time never tired of assailing it. But gradually capitalism, grown wiser, abolished the old-time spectacular redlight districts, scattering the prostitutes around through hotels and apartments; and many people, not seeing the evil right under their noses, concluded that it had been greatly, if not entirely, wiped out.

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smaller share of what they produce than ever before; vast starvation wage areas exist; the insidious speed-up claims more victims now than were ever destroyed by the once almost completely unprotected machinery; the plague of unemployment has become far more widespread and chronic; general housing conditions, in spite of considerable slum clearance, are now worse than ever; the dread specter of economic insecurity has grown and has become a major factor in filling our insane asylums; the farmers are less secure in their incomes and in the ownership of their farms; a great fear of war broods over society, etc., etc.

And that the capitalists have not reformed but have merely changed their technique of financial jugglery and political corruption is evidenced by the mess uncovered in the steady stream of such cases as that of Walker, Manton, Hines, Whitney, Coster (and his higher-ups), etc.

The main reason for the decline of the incisive, close-up and human criticisms of capitalist exploitation and for the growth of more generalized, detached and ultra-objective attitudes is undoubtedly to be found in the fact that as the rough edges were taken off the most brutal aspects of capitalist exploitation and, as hope was developed for further progress in this direction, the labor and progressive movements failed to grasp the fundamental necessity of extending their sharp criticism over to the vast quantity of less spectacular but more deadly misery and destitution that lie behind the deceptive front of capitalist society. There are other reasons for this general development, such as the fact that the extreme complexity and rapid tempo of development of the present situation put a sort of premium upon all kinds of analyses and statistics, and the further fact that today, more than ever, professional leaders speak for the masses, rather than the masses themselves. But despite these factors, the cause indicated above is, I think, the decisive one.

HUMANIZE THE MASS AGITATION

From the foregoing it should be clear that there is a great need for the forces of the democratic front, the Communist Party included, to humanize their mass educational work, to put a heart into their political theorizing, to give more dramatic expression to the great welter of human misery and suffering in the United States, to speak out in terms of actual human relationships rather than merely in terms of cold, impersonal, political generalities. It is not a question of abandoning the present statistical and broad theoretical presentations—these are the fundamentals of our position and in this regard we have gone far beyond the early movement. But the need is to enrich these presentations by linking them up more directly with the actual lives of the masses.

We must learn afresh how to search out and unveil the grim human tragedies, the blighted homes and ruined hopes behind such broad political generalities as "eleven million workers are unemployed," and "one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed," and "in mass production industries workers are now ready for the scrapheap at 40 years of age." By

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the same token, we must also learn better how to translate our economic and political demands into more concrete terms of bread and butter, happier homes and fuller lives for the masses. The democratic front fight for democracy must be more emphatically expressed in human values. We must reach the hearts of the people if we are to reach their minds. To do this it is necessary that more actual workers be trained as leaders, and that our present-day writers, speakers and mass organization officialdom come closer to the life of the people.

It will profit us to think back to the tremendously powerful effects of such intensely human books (despite their political faults) as Blatchford's *Merrie England* and *Not Guilty,* which were flaming exposures of British capitalism; and also to recall that the strongest accounts of the World War, those producing by far the greatest propaganda effects (although sometimes not constructive), were built upon the experiences, sufferings and deaths of individual soldiers or squads of soldiers, such as *Under Fire* by Barbusse; *All Quiet on the Western Front* by Remarque, and *And Quiet Flows the Don* by Sholokhov.

Our job is not to try to revive mechanically the old-time school of muckraking, or to descend to sob-sister slobbering over the woes of the people, or to indulge in a lot of far-fetched and unreal denunciations of capitalism, and especially not in any way to weaken our theoretical, analytical arguments—we must be on guard against all such harmful tendencies. Our task rather is to put more of the stuff of real life into our agitation, developing our exposure of all forms of capitalist exploitation, rottenness and tyranny on the living basis of present-day conditions. Nor in this educational work shall we forget the trenchant role of humor—for the workers, notwithstanding their many difficulties, retain their sense of humor and can be readily educated through it. If we vitalize our agitational work correctly, our writers will not be long in perceiving that the materials for just as great and human works as Blatchford's *Merrie England,* Sinclair's *The Jungle* and Gorky's *Mother* are lying all around them, awaiting only their attention.

Let me give one simple practical illustration of how mass educational work can be humanized and made more effective. It has to do with an incident that occurred at the National Health Conference held some months ago in Washington. Gathered together were several hundred delegates, nearly all officials of various types of mass organizations. Although the big majority of these delegates were highly sympathetic to the general project of improving the people's health, their argumentation followed pretty much the usual one-stage-removed, generalized, statistical presentation of the need for a national health program. In the midst of this devitalized discussion a delegate from the women's auxiliaries of the C.I.O. steel workers' union rose and said:

"Yesterday, Mr. West of Chicago extended an invitation to the delegates present at the National Health Conference, to visit the American Medical Association office in Chicago to see its accomplishments. I, too, want to extend an invitation to the delegates present here to visit Chicago—but I want to show them another picture. I want to show them a sick Chicago, a Chicago of dirt

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and filth and tenements. The people I represent live in this part of Chicago. Many of them have never seen any other part."

The speaker followed this up with a vivid, close-up picture of actual conditions of sickness, suffering and death among the workers in the Chicago slums. Almost every sentence was the story of a personal tragedy. She put the breath of life into the dry discussion of the people's health. Her short and simple talk shocked and stirred the conference. It was in glaring contrast to the cold, impersonal speeches of other delegates; it was the voice of the workers themselves speaking about their actual lives.

To humanize the mass educational work operates to solidify the democratic front. When we more thoroughly expose the privations and exploitation suffered by the workers, we not only develop a better and more sympathetic understanding among the workers themselves (for they do not know each other's troubles as well as we think they do), but we also help them to realize the significance of our political program and to accept it. It opens their minds to our theoretical arguments. And equally important, a more human presentation of the workers' cause will tend to dispel current illusions among the farmers and middle class that the workers are prosperous. In the same manner, a close-up presentation of the position of the farmers and city middle class, in terms of their real life and not merely of statistics, will awaken the workers' sympathies and cement their alliance with these groups. The more we dramatize—correctly, of course—the hardships and poverty of the people, the more we create a favorable "public opinion" for the people's democratic demands, and the more difficult we make it for reaction to put across its nefarious schemes.

To humanize the mass educational work is a major political necessity for building the growing democratic front. It is no less a basic essential for developing our Party's mass education for socialism.

DOLORES IBARRURI

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THE TASKS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR

(Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of China)

[*On November 6, 1938, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of China met in Enlarged Plenary Session to consider the situation in the national liberation war and the tasks facing the Chinese people and the Communist Party. Below we print the principal resolution adopted by this, the Sixth, Plenum.*—THE EDITORS.]

HAVING heard the report made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the work of the Central Political Bureau during the period from the Fifth to the Sixth Session of the Party, on the general situation of the present war of resistance and on the urgent tasks the whole Chinese nation must now undertake, the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of China, completely agrees with the political line adopted by the Central Political Bureau during the said period, approves of all the works performed thereunder and unanimously congratulates the Party on the success and progress achieved during this time.

The Party has successfully accomplished a change of policy which is of great historical significance. This was achieved through the efforts exerted by the whole body of comrades under the leadership of the Political Bureau and with support from the military and the people of the whole nation, in spite of the extremely difficult and complicated conditions. From a situation marked with sharp conflicts between parties, groups, classes, armies and political regimes, we have progressed toward unity and the establishment of a national united front on the basis of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. The session fully endorses the analysis of the fundamental conditions of the war of resistance, the estimation of the war in its present stage and the urgent tasks the whole nation has to undertake as outlined by the report; and offers the following program as the basis for the struggle of the comrades of the whole Party.

1. THE FUNDAMENTAL SUMMARY OF THE SIXTEEN MONTHS OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE OF THE CHINESE NATION

Since they occupied with force of arms our four Northeastern provinces in the "September 18 Incident" of 1931, and particularly since they created the "Marco Polo Bridge In-

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cident" on July 7, 1937, the Japanese fascist militarists have resorted to large-scale aggressive wars of invasion in the Northern, Central and Southern provinces, aiming at the enslavement of the Chinese nation and the complete conquest of our country.

Consequent to the adoption of a policy of national resistance against Japan by the Kuomintang and the National Government, and as a result of the incessant and determined struggle of the Communist Party for the realization of a national anti-Japanese united front, and following upon the nationwide response of the army and the people in rising against the enemy, the great Chinese nation has undertaken a huge heroic war of national self-defense under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The present war of resistance which has continued for sixteen months is a tremendously important stage in the course of the development of the Chinese nation and has promoted unprecedented solidarity and progress.

The nation that had long been oppressed by external enemies has raised up her head; the divided state power has been unified; antagonistic parties have joined hands for cooperation; rival troops, once fighting against each other, have all united in the National Revolutionary Army; the government has begun to democratize itself; poor people in great numbers have sprung up to take part in the national emancipation movement; guerrilla warfare on an unprecedented scale has grown up in the enemy's rear; and the heroism displayed by the Chinese nation in her bitter struggle has won the sympathy and admiration of the whole world. The fire of the war of resistance is melting away all hindrances of the old order and opening the way to progress and national solidarity. Growing is the new life of national self-rejuvenation and the process of bringing our four hundred and fifty millions into one single, strong body.

Because of our weaker military strength, the sixteen months' war of resistance has brought about losses of many big cities and railways, sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of our brave fighters, and unparalleled nationwide catastrophes to our people. But, nevertheless, we have smashed the plan of the enemy for a quick victory, inflicted losses upon the enemy amounting to hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of yen as war expenditure, increased their difficulties both internally and externally, and won for ourselves the sympathy of all progressive peoples and their denunciation of the invaders. The war of resistance in the past sixteen months has proved that our forces are impregnable before Japanese aggression. But it is impossible for us to win a quick triumph. The anti-Japanese war is a difficult and protracted one, because:

The enemy is an imperialist power with relatively highly developed industry and military technique. A small country with only a small army, Japan is waging a war of barbaric aggression against the interests of her own people and inviting only denunciation from the rest of the world. The fascist rule of imperialist Japan hastens the country down the path of destruction and death.

Ours is a semi-colonial country,

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comparatively backward in industry and military technique; but we are a big country, and we have a big population, a big army and a big territory. Our war of resistance for national self-defense is progressive for it furthers the national interests and daily wins us international sympathy and aid. China in the war of resistance grows stronger and stronger as she proceeds on the way to emancipation.

Hence in the protracted war, along with the fight, the enemy will confront ever more difficult conditions and become weaker and weaker until their final defeat; while we will grow from weak to strong, from losses to victories, until our ultimate success. The process will develop in three stages during the war of resistance. For the enemy they are: (1) offensive; (2) military deadlock, and (3) retreat. And for us they are: defensive, military deadlock, and counter-offensive.

In the first stage, the consolidation and progress of our national unity have laid the foundation necessary for a protracted war. Because the ratio of military strength is to our disadvantage, we cannot but resort to mobile, defensive warfare at the fronts and broad guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear, so as to expand the fighting line of the enemy and to scatter and exhaust his forces. So long as this is determinedly carried out, the enemy will be forced to give up the strategical offensive and the war will proceed to the stage of deadlock between us. When our work to improve our fighting forces is completed, we will launch the counter-offensive, timed with the difficulties of the enemy and with the international developments favorable to us, and achieve our final victory by driving the invaders out of Chinese territory.

The war as a protracted one demands the continued hard struggle of the Chinese nation, the continued cordial cooperation between the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all anti-Japanese parties and groups and redoubled efforts, with all means available, to consolidate and organize our four hundred and fifty million people into one united power. These are fundamental conditions which will guarantee a successful protracted war against Japanese imperialism.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE IN ITS PRESENT STAGE

The war of resistance is at present in the transitional period from the first stage to the second stage. The fundamental characteristics of this very transitional period and the stage of deadlock to follow are:

On the one hand our difficulties are on the increase, but on the other hand our country is more consolidated and progressive than ever.

The fall of Wuhan and Canton, the loss of big industries and trade, the occupation of main railways, the geographical division of the state administration and fighting areas, the occupation of the coast, the temporary decrease of foreign aid, the stringency of finance and national economy, the difficulties in transportation and the consequent inadequacy of military supplies and ammunitions—all these are special features of the war of resistance in its present stage and the difficulties to be encountered in the coming stage of deadlock.

Meanwhile the Japanese aggressors

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are planning to build up a national puppet government, intensifying their intrigues to disintegrate China internally; and the traitors and pro-Japanese elements are making use of the difficulties as excuses to increase their activities for compromise and capitulation. Because of these difficulties, it is possible to create sentiments of disappointment and pessimism in a part of the people, to sow dissension in the ranks of the anti-Japanese camp, to bring about wavering of some elements and even partial betrayal by some groups. These are serious problems confronting the war of resistance in the present and in the approaching stages, and they must be carefully studied. But we must also realize that China is increasing in unity and becoming more democratic; that Generalissimo Chiang and the people throughout the country are rigidly holding their determined stand for the war of resistance; that the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation and national unity are progressing; that the two parties are growing in numbers and in political influence; that the Chinese people hate the Japanese invaders and are strengthening their solidarity to face the common hardships; that China still holds large areas (the Southwest and the Northwest) as her general bases for the war of resistance; that in the enemy's rear the broad guerrilla warfare is gaining momentum and the anti-Japanese bases are being consolidated and enlarged; that the heroic Chinese troops have accumulated rich experiences in the war and are strengthening their fighting power; that the national political system is proceeding step by step towards greater democracy (particularly in the anti-Japanese bases in the enemy's rear); and that the broad masses of the people are being mobilized and organized.

For Japan, the lengthening of the fighting line means the disposition of fewer troops over greater areas. Once away from the coast, rivers and railways, the fight in the mountainous regions will become more difficult for the enemy. The spread and development of guerrilla warfare in the rear of the enemy reduce the enemy to the state of exhaustion. The actions taken by Japan in South China tend to sharpen the conflict between America and Japan, between Britain and Japan and between France and Japan. As a result of the Japanese aggression, and the determined war of resistance held out by China, the Japanese people will have to live under the constant menace of a protracted war and their anti-war and anti-fascist movement will be further stimulated to growth. All these are objective conditions favorable to a determined war of resistance held out by the Chinese nation and will help overcome the difficulties involved.

The central pivot, upon which hinges the determinedly "held-out" war of resistance and our work of overcoming all the difficulties, is the further consolidation of Chinese unity, the strengthening of the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation, rigid maintenance of our confidence in the anti-aggression war, and improvement and development of our new fighting power for the protracted war. When all this is done, undoubtedly we can check the advance of the enemy and launch our counter-offensive.

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3. THE IMMEDIATE TASKS FOR THE WHOLE CHINESE NATION

Our fundamental tasks based on the above should be to carry on the war of resistance; to hold out through a protracted war; to strengthen and enlarge the national anti-Japanese united front—so as to win a glorious victory, drive the Japanese invaders from our territory and build up a new Republic of San Min Chu I China based on independence, liberty and public welfare. Under this basic principle the immediate urgent tasks for the whole Chinese nation should be:

a. Highly develop our national self-respect and self-confidence; fight in the war of resistance to the last; oppose and overcome compromise and capitulation.

b. Wholeheartedly and sincerely support Generalissimo Chiang, the National Government and the cordial cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and between all other anti-Japanese parties and groups; oppose all attempts to disintegrate the nation; and oppose any and all traitorous puppet governments.

c. Raise the fighting power of the main troops; enlarge our army; create more troops; improve the political training and technical equipment and training of the army; defend the Southwest and Northwest in order to check the further advance of the enemy.

d. Broadly develop guerrilla warfare, build and consolidate more anti-Japanese bases in the enemy's rear and thus reduce the enemy-occupied areas through coordination with the movements of the main troops.

e. Raise the level of military technique; build necessary arsenals and prepare forces for the general counter-offensve.

f. Carry further the centralization of democracy; improve the political mechanism for closer relations between the government and the people; create the greatest possible efficiency in the anti-Japanese political power.

g. Enlarge the mass movement and develop the mass bodies (all organizations of workers, peasants, merchants, students, intellectuals, youths, women, children, etc.); mobilize the broad masses of the people in the anti-Japanese war.

h. Effect considerable necessary improvements in the living conditions of the people in order to arouse their zeal in support of the war of resistance and in the building up of national production.

i. Practice new wartime financial and economic policies, increase revenues but economize on governmental expenditures and thus overcome the financial difficulties.

j. Put into practice the national defense educational policy, make education serve the mass self-defense war.

k. Concentrate all forces available against the Japanese fascist militarist aggressors; intensify publicity abroad; struggle hard for international aid, for sanctions against Japan; deprive Japan of all ammunitions and raw materials supplied by foreign countries, win support of friendly nations for us in the form of ammunitions, military supplies, medicines, technicians and financial aid.

l. Build the anti-aggression united front of the people of China, Japan,

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Korea and Formosa for a joint struggle against the Japanese fascist militarists.

m. Consolidate all nations within China (Chinese, Mongols, Moslems, Tibetans, Miaos, Yaos, Yis, Fans, etc.), into a united power for the joint fight for national existence.

n. Intensify the suppression of traitors (betrayers, spies and Trotskyites) and strengthen both the front and the rear of the war of resistance.

o. Develop the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all anti-Japanese parties and groups, and consolidate the Anti-Japanese National United Front in support of the protracted war of resistance.

These are the necessary and concrete tasks that must be fulfilled in order to overcome our difficulties, to check the advance of the enemy and to prepare our general counter-offensive. The Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the C.E.C. of the Chinese Communist Party is confident that through the execution of these tasks it is possible to turn China from a weak nation into a strong one and for her to begin to turn from retreat to a sweeping success.

4. PERMANENT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE KUOMINTANG AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS GUARANTEE FOR A VICTORIOUS WAR OF RESISTANCE AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION; STRUGGLE FOR A NEW SAN MIN CHU I REPUBLIC OF CHINA

In order to fulfill the immediate urgent tasks of the Chinese nation and successfully to carry out the protracted anti-Japanese war, it is necessary to have permanent cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party as the foundation of the anti-Japanese national united front and the guarantee of the success of the big work of the war of resistance and national reconstruction. So permanent cooperation between the two parties is warmly desired not only by comrades of the two parties, but also by all peoples and all friends of China. The war of resistance and national reconstruction are the tasks that require a long period of time. Cooperation in the war of resistance serves as the foundation for cooperation after the war is won. The existence of a strong enemy; San Min Chu I as the political basis for the cooperation of the two parties; the bitter lessons learned in the past ten years by the members of the two parties and by the people of the whole nation; the desire of all armies and of the whole people for a permanent cooperation between the two parties; and the joint goal of the struggle for the building of a new China based on the Three People's Principles—all these provide a solid scientific and theoretical foundation for the permanent cooperation of the two parties, which can, therefore, evolve from mere hope to actuality.

Hence, the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the C.E.C. of the Communist Party of China formally resolves not to build secret organizations of the Communist Party in the Kuomintang and the Kuomintang troops, and declares once more the whole-heartedness and sincerity of the Chinese Communist Party in its support of the San Min Chu I, of Generalissimo Chiang and of the National Government. And it once more earnestly re-

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quires of all members of the Chinese Communist Party a spirit of mutual assistance, mutual concession and solidarity to share life or death in the face of the same hardships, and a comradely attitude of respect, which is necessary for the preservation of the independence of the various co-operating parties. These are not only necessary for the reduction of friction between the two parties—the Kuomintang and the Communist Party—and the improvement and consolidation of the cooperation between the two parties, but also for the attainment of a permanent cooperation between them.

The Enlarged Plenary Session of the Communist Party C.E.C. solemnly declares to General Director Chiang and the whole C.E.C. body of the Kuomintang that the Chinese Communist Party considers it the best form of cooperation to have members of the Communist Party join the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. And the Communist Party will hand over the names to the leading organs of the Kuomintang of their members who have joined the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps and will refrain from enlisting new members of the Communist Party in the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps.

The second proposal is that the two parties shall form joint committees of all grades to lead all activities in which the two parties cooperate. The Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Communist Party C.E.C. considers that the proper solution of the organizational forms of cooperation between the two parties is of tremendous significance in the improvement of relations, and to guarantee permanent cooperation between the two parties.

The realization of a permanent cooperation between the two parties and the victory of the war of resistance will bring to birth a new Republic of San Min Chu I China based on independence, liberty and welfare. The internal conditions of the nation (to win the war of resistance and national reconstruction through the efforts of an Anti-Japanese National United Front of all parties, groups and classes) as well as the international conditions all show us that in this historical stage it is impossible to establish either a one-party dictatorship, a Soviet state, or a socialist system. Rather a democratic republic will appear in its new form, namely a new San Min Chu I China, which will have her foundations laid in the hard, protracted war of resistance and which will be further developed and enlightened after our victory.

Substantial evidence of the development of the state towards democracy since the outbreak of the war of resistance are: The proclamation of the program for the War of Resistance and National Reconstruction; the convocation of the People's Political Council; the realization of provincial and city people's political councils; the legalization of the various anti-Japanese parties and groups, the gradual realization of freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association of the people; the realization of democracy in the anti-Japanese bases in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsha and Hopeh-Chahar-Shansi frontier regions and the areas in the enemy's rear; and the improvement of the live-

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lihood of the people. The process of winning a victorious war of resistance and the realization of democracy and the improvement of the livelihood of the people are mutually dependent. When the success of the Chinese nation in her war of resistance is realized and the nation becomes independent, the foundations of the new democratic republc will have been laid. The construction of a new San Min Chu I Republic of China will mark a tremendous stage in the historical development of the Chinese nation and will play a great and unprecedented role in the task of emancipation of the Chinese people.

5. THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE NATIONAL WAR OF SELF-DEFENSE

The Chinese Communist Party is made up of a part of the advanced sons and daughters of the Chinese nation who have joined the anti-Japanese campaign for national defense with heartfelt enthusiasm and unlimited heroism. Their heroic struggle entitles them to be called the proletarian vanguard and international fighters. In the war for national self-defense and in the struggle for the construction of a San Min Chu I Republic, members of the Communist Party must play the role of model fighters at the front. The posts for Communists are in those places where blows can be most severely inflicted upon the enemy—in the front and in his rear. Communists should be model fighters in the execution of the anti-Japanese national united front policy based on the principle that all must obey the interests of the war of resistance, everything is for the victory in the war of resistance, everything is for the Anti-Japanese National United Front and the Anti-Japanese National United Front is supreme over all.

The Communist members should, in the spirit of democracy, respect the independence of the various parties politically and organizationally, should set the example in respecting the independence of the Kuomintang and other anti-Japanese parties and groups, while firmly seeing that the independence of the Communist Party is politically and organizationally guaranteed. Communist members in the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other armed units must set examples as intelligent and brave fighters in executing commands, abiding by discipline, forming a homogeneous body of officers and soldiers and in carrying out the political work in the army. Here the Plenary Session particularly points out that the Communist members, the commanders, the political workers and the fighters of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army have played a very glorious role in the present war of resistance and that they should play a still more active role.

In the government administration work, Communist members must set examples of integrity without any corruption or bureaucracy. In the mass movement, they should set examples in educating the people, in learning from them, and in maintaining friendly democratic cooperation with others without pride, arrogance, monopolization or manipulation. Their attitude towards the non-Communists should be the best example of sincerity, friendliness and respect for co-

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operation. The work of widely developing the organization of the Communist Party to make it a mass party of Bolshevism is, therefore, not only the urgent task of all the Communist members and the working class themselves but also a joint undertaking for the whole Chinese nation.

To guarantee that the Communist members will play their urgent role in the big enterprise of the war of resistance and national reconstruction and will fulfill a part of the glorious work in it as a great force, it is necessary to promote large numbers of brave, intelligent and able Party and non-Party cadres, adequately to use them and to educate and foster them. The theoretical level of the Party must be raised and intensified. The whole party, high and low, must strive to learn the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, learn the experiences of Marxism-Leninism and of the Comintern, apply them actively to the struggle in China, study the Three People's Principles of Dr Sun Yat-sen, study Chinese history and raise the general cultural level of the cadres and the rank and file of the Party. The *New China Daily*, *Liberation* and *The Masses* must be improved in content. Schools and classes of various grades must be founded for the training of cadres. Build and strengthen Party locals so that they can work independently. Cultivate popular and trusted leading cadres in the work of the Party, and in the work of the political, military and mass organizations. At the same time the struggle on the two fronts must be definitely and sharply developed against the incorrect "Left" and Right deviations, which are dangerous to the Party, dangerous to the united front and therefore dangerous to the war of resistance.

The main danger of the "Left" isolationists' sectarian elements at the present lies in the fact that they do not understand that the only way to emancipate the Chinese people is to strengthen and enlarge the Anti-Japanese National United Front and particularly to build a permanent cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. At the same time, ultra-"Left" tendencies grow because they do not understand the actual situation of the war.

The danger of the Right opportunists lies in the fact that they execute the tactics of an anti-Japanese National Front at the expense of the independence of the Party, politically and organizationally distorting the policy of the proletariat in building an Anti-Japanese National United Front so that the working class and the Communist Party become tails of the bourgeoisie rather than the vanguard. At the same time they become discouraged before difficulties and pessimistic in the face of a protracted war of resistance. Chang Kuo-tao, who resorted to double-dealing as a means of launching a struggle against the Party and the Center on the basis of Right opportunism, has now openly become a renegade and a deserter from the Anti-Japanese National United Front and the cause of Communism. It is absolutely correct that the Political Bureau, acting on behalf of the Center, announced the expulsion of Chang Kuo-tao from the Communist Party. The Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the C.E.C. of the Chinese Communist Party agrees with

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the resolution adopted by the Comintern in regard to the expulsion of Chang Kuo-tao from the Communist Party. (The betrayal by Chang Kuo-tao is denounced and despised not only in the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party but also by all faithful supporters of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.) Naturally Party workers should exercise the greatest patience in convincing and educating comrades who commit errors just because they have had little experience in practical work. Wrong tendencies such as freely branding fellow comrades as "Left" or Right opportunists must be seriously corrected. At the same time the sinister enemy of Marxism-Leninism in the guise of formalism, dogmatism and mechanism, expressed in thought and in work, must be suppressed.

Finally, the Sixth Plenary Session particularly wants to arouse the revolutionary sensitiveness and alertness of the whole Party to guard with keen attention against the intrigues and tricks directed by the Japanese aggressors and their running dogs—Trotskyites, traitors, and anti-Communist elements—to disintegrate and break the Party and to sow seeds of dissension within and without the Party. We must expose and oppose with Bolshevik alertness all open and hidden anti-Communist elements who endanger the Party by resorting to double-dealing. Every member of the Communist Party must love the Party and the solidarity and unity of the Party as his own life. The democratic centralism of the Party must be seriously preserved. Individuals obey the organization; the minority, the majority; and the rank-and-file, the leaders, with the Center functioning as the highest leading organ. Strict discipline must be preserved so that organizationally the Party and Party officers of the various ranks will be consolidated as one single human being.

The Sixth Plenary Session reminds all members of the Party to pay serious attention to the solidarity and unity of the Party as it is the most fundamental prerequisite to guarantee the further strengthening and enlargement of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and the most important condition for the winning of the war of resistance and the realization of the big task of national reconstruction.

The Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the C.E.C. of the Chinese Communist Party points out that the Japanese fascist aggressors are not only fatal enemies of the Chinese nation, but also enemies of the Japanese people and the common enemies of all peace-loving peoples of the world. Consequently, "the war of liberation of the Chinese nation is a most important stage in the struggle of the world proletariat and of all progressive peoples against barbarous fascist violence." (Resolution of the Presidium of the Comintern.)

The Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the C.E.C. of the Chinese Communist Party firmly believes, that, as a country with a history of five thousand years and a population of four hundred and fifty million people, the great Chinese nation, under the conditions of national unity, of permanent cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, of coordination with the anti-fascist movement of the Japanese peo-

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ple and of support and sympathy from all peace-loving countries and all progressive peoples, is sure to overcome all difficulties in the protracted, hard struggle to carry on a successful war of national self-defense against Japanese aggression, to oust the Japanese aggressors from China, and to build up a brilliant new San Min Chu I China of independence, liberty and public welfare. These bright prospects are dawning. The final victory will certainly be for the Chinese nation.

REVOLUTION IN SPAIN

By KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS

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SOME REMARKS ON RURAL POLITICS

FROM EXPERIENCES IN WISCONSIN

BY FRED BASSETT BLAIR

State Chairman, Communist Party, Wisconsin

EARL BROWDER, in his report to the December plenum, said this of the approaching municipal elections:

"These municipal elections must be approached with the same deep seriousness with which we took the Congressional elections, with the same determination to secure the unity of the broadest progressive and labor camps against the forces of reaction. The results of the municipal elections will not only determine the nature of the local governments, with all the consequences that flow therefrom, but will also exert their influence on the line-up for the great national struggle of 1940."*

What Comrade Browder says of these municipal elections applies also to elections in the townships (called "towns" in Wisconsin, and in this article) and village elections.

There are almost 1,300 towns in Wisconsin, and nearly 400 incorporated villages. In the largest number of cases, elections take place every spring in these "pure and elementary republics," as Jefferson termed them. Officers elected in the town consist of a chairman and two other supervisors, a clerk, treasurer, one to three assessors, one to three constables, and two justices of the peace. The town chairman and two supervisors make up the town board, a miniature legislature. Villages have a president and board of trustees. The town chairmen are also members of the board of supervisors of the county, so that the aggregate of town chairmen in rural counties makes up the county board of supervisors, the legislative body for the county.

Election contests for town and village offices are very lively, for all local public questions affecting the people in rural areas are in the hands of these officials. Highway improvement, schools, relief (in a majority of cases), enactment and enforcement of town laws, licensing of billiard halls and taverns, assessment and taxation power—these and other important matters affecting the lives of the farmers, villagers and countryside proletarians are administered by the town and village officials.

Town and village officials, along with the precinct committeemen, form the base of political machines which control the county governments through county patronage and the election machinery. In Wisconsin, since, as we have said, the town chairmen are also on the county board of supervisors, the legislative apparatus of the county, the political complexion of the county board, is de-

* Earl Browder, *Social and National Security*, p. 23, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

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termined by the political complexion of the majority of town chairmen. If the latter in a given county are reactionary, there is every possibility that reactionaries will get elected as sheriff, county clerk, district attorney, county judge, etc. Similarly, when state elections are held, there is strong likelihood that from these territories reactionary assemblymen and state senators will emerge victorious. The reverse is true when a majority of genuine New Dealers or Progressives are elected among town chairmen and town board members and officials.

In numerous counties, the politics is dominated by a "ring" composed of town chairmen, county officials, business people, and wealthy farmers. The overwhelming majority of these "rings" are today integral parts of the Republican Party. It is true, that if the swing of the people is toward the Democratic Party, then these "rings" will place their men in the Democratic machinery, where they furnish a large section of the anti-New Deal Democratic apparatus. When the Progressive Party of Wisconsin emerged, some of these "rings" placed their people in this party, in the same manner.

PROGRESSIVES MUST WIN RURAL OFFICES

The New Dealers and progressives generally, in order to crush the reactionaries in Wisconsin, will have to break up these "rings" by developing broad united movements in the townships and counties to elect a majority of progressive-minded town chairmen and county officials.

Too many times in the past, progressive and New Deal politicians have sought to remain in office by dealing with these Republican and reactionary Democratic officials, and "ring" members on the basis of "support me for the higher office, and we'll keep out of the township and county races." But it should have been clear to all that a Progressive state administration in power was sitting pretty precariously when 70 per cent or more of the county officials remained Republican.

In the long run, the forces of the democratic front cannot become victorious in the state administration of Wisconsin, without winning control in local administrations as well. And since about half of Wisconsin's population is rural, the democratic front forces must win not only in the leading municipalities but in the town, village and county governments. Otherwise, the tenacious foothold of the reactionaries in these local key positions will enable them to counterbalance the influence and legislative work of the Progressives and New Dealers. A serious and well-planned campaign on the part of Progressives and New Dealers to win the majority of the town and county offices and use this control in the interests of the farmers, workers, and small business people will have immediate and lasting results.

There are several reasons why such a campaign has not, to any effective degree, yet been made.

In the main, the progressive and liberal-minded people among the farmers and village people are not awake enough to the importance of doing this. They tend to ignore the spade work that has to be done in order to place these governmental

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agencies in the hands of the democratic front forces. They do not sufficiently appreciate the political importance of these "minor" positions, in the whole scheme of the political life of the state and the nation.

When progressives and liberals do recognize the need for unity, they understand this too often as a sort of deal between top people for individual higher offices, rather than combining these necessary moves with building real unity down among the masses. They do not see the need of a progressive coalition in control of governmental apparatus in the town and county as a basis for bringing about, through pressure, the fulfillment of their aims in the higher bodies, such as the state and national administrations.

There are various reasons for this neglect of fighting for progressive and New Deal majorities in the towns and counties. For one thing, among politicians, the honors and salaries are not particularly attractive. For another thing, among the rank and file, many times it appears as if there is too much grief connected with a minor office to make it worth the while of a farmer, small business man, or worker to give up his livelihood in order to handle it properly. Arguments about the "good of the community" do not suffice. It needs real political work among the populace to make the people understand that both the good of the community as a whole and the actual material conditions of the individual concerned will be advanced if the reactionaries are ousted and supplanted by progressives.

The fulfillment of the people's demands requires the appropriate mass organizations. Progressive and liberal town and county officials can use the prestige of their positions to build these organizations, and bring them closer to the governmental bodies in the territories. This has happened in numerous cases with the building of the Farmers Union, Milk Pool, Workers Alliance and trade unions.

On questions of statewide import, telegrams embodying resolutions of town and county boards receive great attention. Delegations including elected officials have an effect greater than delegations from organizations.

On questions of national importance, national issues, and issues of foreign policy, these town and county boards can play a very important role. The few approaches that have been made to the question of getting progressive resolutions to these bodies have had a good effect. For example, on the question of fighting the proposed railroad wage cut, the Douglas County Board last summer went on record, not only against the cut, but for calling a state conference of representatives of *all* county boards in the state to fight the wage cut. And, last year, when a county board of supervisors was asked to send delegates to the national congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the measure was defeated by only two votes. These votes were cast mistakenly against it by two town chairmen who were confused by parliamentary technicalities. County board after county board has assisted the fight of the Workers Alliance for better relief and W.P.A. standards, and opposed proposed cuts. In Milwaukee, the County Board and Com-

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mon Council both condemned Hitler's persecution of the Jews, the former even calling for an embargo on the fascist German government.

These moves, however, have been made without any conscious, organized, planned work on the part of the progressives and New Dealers to employ the potential influence that town and county boards wield in their communities. It is obvious that if it were constantly kept in mind that town, village and county boards should be mobilized for pressure upon state and national governmental bodies for progressive and liberal action, a tremendous force for realizing the objectives of the democratic front could be set in motion.

ISSUE OF RELIEF IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

The issue of relief is today a burning question of town and village politics. The struggle around this question develops differently in the different types of towns. From the standpoint of relief situations, there are four important general types of towns in Wisconsin:

(1) The towns adjoining large industrial communities; (2) the towns, in good and average farming areas, with a purely rural population; (3) the towns which have in them a dominating industrial establishment; (4) the towns in below-average farming areas, with purely rural population.

Here are some examples of how the fight between progressives and reactionaries develops around this key issue of relief in these types of towns.

Type 1. Many industrial workers live in towns adjoining industrial communities. Due to unemployment, these workers have to apply to the town for relief; in counties, where local responsibility for relief obtains. Through this item of relief, the farmers in the town have to pay taxes proportionately much higher than those paid by farmers in neighboring towns where there are little or no relief clients. If relief were centralized, so that the county or state bore the burden, the tax load would be spread out instead of weighing so heavily upon the farmers in towns of this type. In such a situation, Republicans and other reactionaries try to mobilize the farmers of the town against the unemployed and W.P.A. workers; and against the New Deal and progressives generally, saying: "If it weren't for the W.P.A. and relief due to New Deal measures, the farm taxes would be lower."

Progressive candidates could obtain election as town officials, if they campaigned on the issue of centralizing relief and W.P.A. responsibilities, which would lighten the taxes for small and middle farmers by adjusting the role of taxation according to ability to pay. Their campaigns would unite the poor and middle farmers with the workers, and would expose the double-dealing of the reactionary politicians in league with the rich farmers and the trusts. Such progressive campaigns would unmask the hypocritical talk of the Republicans and other reactionaries who block all attempts at centralizing relief while shedding crocodile tears about "high taxes," and who criticize and condemn "New Deal and Progressive spending," while demanding, in their capacity as office-holders, federal and state grants to their counties and cities.

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Type 2. During the last elections in the Wisconsin towns with good and average farming conditions Republicans or other reactionaries won out to a considerable degree. They won because of the discontent of the middle farmers, which is increasing as the price of dairy products drops lower and lower. In the next year or so, in these formerly prosperous farm areas, tens of thousands of middle farmers are going to need relief of some sort.

In one particular township, in a county at present controlled by reactionaries, there are quite a few Party members, part of a branch of 25 in the county. Along with other progressive-minded farmers, these comrades have set out to end the control of the county politics by the reactionary coalition now in the saddle. There is a minority of progressives on the county board. Through concentrating on the township elections, the coalition of Progressives, New Dealers and Communists is paring down the reactionary majority year by year. They are electing from one township after another genuinely progressive town chairmen, who, in their capacity as county supervisors, are carrying through exposures of the deals and corrupt actions of the reactionaries.

Millions of dollars in tax money, large cuts of which the reactionaries pocketed, as well as dozens of jobs, are at stake in this large county of mainly well-to-do middle farmers. The progressive minority has already won hundreds of thousands of dollars in grants for rural electrification, and has thoroughly alarmed the reactionary coalition members. The reactionaries, seeking means of retaining their hold, have even gone so far as to stimulate the formation of Nazi groups, since the German farmers are in the majority.

In such towns as this, it is not the issue of direct relief and W.P.A. which stands out today (though it may in a year or so as the farmers get more impoverished). Rather, it is rural electrification, farm resettlement, soil conservation, aid to cooperatives, lower interest rates and especially higher prices, as well as curbing the implement and marketing monopolies. As far as local town issues are concerned, better roads, economy in expenditures of tax money, better schools and a public health program are burning questions.

Type 3. In this type of town, with an industrial establishment which dominates the scene, town and village politics work out a little differently. The dominating power is sometimes a sawmill, a mining or quarrying company, monopoly-controlled cannery or condensery; at others it is a huge resort, a great orchard or "factory farm" employing many laborers.

Let us take the example of a certain township which has in it a large sawmill. Either all the land in it is owned now by the lumber company, or the farmers bought the land from the company. The town government was headed by a company foreman, who was also organizer for the company union. When the workers in the mill went on strike, the whole power of the town board was mobilized in behalf of the company. Relief orders were refused by the board to strikers. The licensing power of the board was used to bring pressure upon tavern and store keepers to work for the company. The board legislated

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and taxed in favor of the company store; it levied against the small businessmen who desired to aid the workers, and who wanted a union in the mill in order that they might appeal to the organized workers against trading with the company store. The town chairman was virtual dictator over the community, held in almost feudal bondage to the lumber company.

SMALL BUSINESSMEN UNITE WITH WORKERS

As a consequence, in the village the workers and small businessmen were forced to unite to oust the town board and replace it with one which would stand with the people against the company. They found themselves compelled to unite with farmers and villagers from other parts of the county in a struggle against the lumber company's domination of the whole county government.

The experiences in this town are typical of many situations in Wisconsin as well as other states.

In the given case, the town chairman, organizer of reaction, was implicated in stealing the town's funds. Corruption, diversion of town and county funds into the pockets of officeholders, is usually rife wherever such reactionary company control exists. Roads, schools and health services are neglected, while the slot-machine rackets, other forms of gambling, prostitution, etc., flourish in such reactionary-dominated communities.

In towns of the above type, "Better and Cleaner Government" movements can easily be organized and linked up with the whole fight for organization of the unorganized, better relief and W.P.A., and farm relief facilities, pensions, civil rights, and general economic and social improvements in the fight for democracy. In such towns that have an industrial power dominating the life of the people, the issue of taxing these industrial and big capitalist farm holdings to the proper extent, in order to reduce the taxes of the farmers and other small property holders, is very important. There have been town assessors elected who tried to do this, and the beneficial results immediately became apparent. But in many instances the progressive forces have not stood behind these officials sufficiently; some officials have been bought out; or, again, the reactionaries have confused the people with demagogy to defeat honest officials who have tried to apply taxation with ability to pay.

Type 4. Wisconsin has a third or more of its towns in this category, with the population largely impoverished farmers, operating on below-standard farming conditions. Relief and W.P.A. for the farmers themselves are the burning central issues.

The struggle for relief works out somewhat as follows: The town chairman refuses to certify applicants for W.P.A., and refuses to give relief. The affected farmers organize a strong committee and call upon the town chairman and board members. If their demands are granted, the farmers get relief or go on W.P.A. for a time. After a while, the funds are exhausted, or the local W.P.A. project is finished. In the former case, if the town is broke, the farmers bring pressure on the town chairman and board to go to the county board and demand aid. If, as in some cases, the county is broke, too, then pressure is

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brought for state aid. Last year, the organized pressure of a dozen Northern counties forced through an appropriation of close to a million dollars from the state legislature for relief to this stricken area. If there are still funds in the town but the project is finished, then the people needing relief should consult with the town board and work out additional required projects, or introduce into the county board a campaign for county-wide projects which will give employment to all the county's poor farmers and unemployed.

There are hundreds of towns where the unemployed workers and poor farmers need to be organized for such action. For example, I have before me a work relief assignment card issued to an impoverished farmer, calling him to work for eleven hours a month at 40c an hour. His relief is $4.40 a month, and he has had to live on that standard for two years.

With conditions like the above, where the town chairman and board persist in denying assistance to those in need, there is a basis for an election campaign this spring to sweep the reactionaries out of office and replace them with people who will give adequate relief. Wherever the Workers Alliance exists, such campaigns are taking place now. But the Alliance will need to involve all organizations in the countryside, such as Farmers Union locals, the Grange, cooperatives, precinct committeemen of the various political parties, in this struggle. Otherwise, the status quo in town relief, which certain bankers and rich farmers want to maintain, along with the reactionary Republican and Democratic office-holders, will continue.

These examples have been given at length in order to illustrate the specific things a town board can do to improve the material situation of the population. The specific plan of action needs to be worked out for each town, in order to put into effect the program which the progressive candidates for town chairman and board members wish to carry out. In addition, the town election program and plan of action need to be integrated into a county program and carried out by the town chairman in the county board of supervisors, in order to make the whole county a better place to live in for the majority of the people.

These remarks only touch upon some of the aspects and implications of the problem of winning the town and county governments for the democratic front.

Considerable further discussion of concrete experiences will be necessary to work out all angles of this problem, which varies from state to state considerably. In many states, the town and village governments are not integrated into the county and state as in Wisconsin. In many states it is the county government which is the unit of operation in rural territories.

But, just as in the larger cities our branches had to tackle and solve the ward electoral problems and their relations to city and state problems, so our rural organizations will have to tackle and solve the problems of the town, village and county governments, and their relation to the statewide and national problems of the people.

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FROM THE WORLD COMMUNIST PRESS

THE THIRD STALINIST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Pravda, daily organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, January 31, 1939.

YESTERDAY there were published the theses for the report of Comrade V. M. Molotov to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, concerning the Third Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. (1938-1942). These theses were approved in essence by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. This is a document of great world historical significance. It instills in the hearts of the millions of toilers of our fatherland a feeling of justified pride over the victories of socialism already achieved, and profound faith in the complete triumph of communism in the U.S.S.R. and in the entire world.

The theses sum up the results of the road traversed by our fatherland in the years of the Second Stalinist Five-Year Plan, and outline the road for its further economic and cultural construction in the years of the Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan. Gratifying, magnificent results! Stirring, grandiose perspectives!

The successful fulfillment of the Second Stalinist Five-Year Plan has enscribed many pages of unfading glory into the records of socialist victories. The basic historical task of the Second Five-Year Plan has been solved: exploitation of every form has been wiped off the face of our fatherland, and with it its carriers, the exploiting classes. And the causes which give rise to exploitation of man by many have been completely uprooted. In our country there is forever ended the division of society into exploiter and exploited. The most difficult task of the socialist revolution—the socialist reconstruction of agriculture—has been solved: the collectivization of agriculture is completed, the system of collective farming is definitely entrenched. The socialist system of production completely dominates the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R. To this corresponds the class structure of the Soviet society, which now consists of two friendly classes—workers and peasants. The dividing line between these classes, as well as between them and the intelligentsia, is gradually disappearing.

All this means, that in our country "socialism, the first phase of communism, has been, in the main, realized" (Stalin). Socialism is firmly and unshakably established as the mode of life.

The principal and decisive economic task of the Second Five-Year Plan was the completion of the technical reconstruction of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. This task has been accomplished in the main. In

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the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan, more than four-fifths of the total industrial output was produced by plants built or entirely reconstructed during the two Stalinist Five-Year Plans. Approximately nine-tenths of all the tractors and combines operating in the fields of the U.S.S.R. came off the conveyers of the Soviet factories during the Second Five-Year Plan. Industry and transport fulfilled the Second Five-Year Plan ahead of the schedule. The planned increase in industrial production was overfulfilled: in the course of five years, production increased by 120 per cent, as against the planned 114 per cent; the average increase per year amounted to 17.1 per cent, as against the 16.5 per cent projected by the plan. The most important tasks set by the Second Five-Year Plan in the field of agriculture—relative to the production of grain and cotton—were also overfulfilled.

The vast program of the Second Five-Year Plan for raising the material and cultural level of the toilers has been realized. Witness the more than doubled production of articles of popular consumption, the steady rise in the wages of workers and salaried employees, the marked increase in the incomes of collective farms, the growth of the number of scholars in all grades of the educational system, and the expansion in the building of cultural institutions. "During the years of the Second Five-Year Plan, there has been carried out in the U.S.S.R. a veritable cultural revolution." (From the theses for the report of Comrade Molotov.)

The victories of the Second Five-Year Plan have been achieved by our country under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin-Stalin, of the Stalinist Central Committee, of the Soviet government. These victories were won in a merciless struggle with the remnants of the inimical class elements and with the enemy agents of the capitalist encirclement. The Soviet people have trampled the despicable White-Guard insects—the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist spies, the diversionists and wreckers, the base hirelings of the fascist intelligence services, and cleared the way for further advance. The complete liquidation of the effects of wrecking, and the further strengthening of Bolshevist vigilance in all the work of the building of Communism —such is the indispensable condition for new victories during the Third Five-Year period.

The successful fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan testifies before the entire world that *with the Bolsheviks, word and deed are inseparable*. The results of the Second Five-Year Plan are a brilliant demonstration of the tremendous *advantages of socialism over capitalism*. In 1938 the output of the entire industry of the U.S.S.R. equalled 412 per cent of the 1929 level of production, while in the countries of capitalism industrial production in 1938 equalled 91 per cent of the level of 1929. This one comparison alone shows the deep abyss between the two worlds—the world of flourishing socialism, full of vigor and buoyancy, and the world of decaying, parasitic, moribund capitalism.

The present phase in the development of our fatherland is a phase of the completion of the building of a classless socialist society and gradual

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transition from socialism to communism. This is the most grandiose task that every stood before humanity. In order to accomplish this task under the conditions of the hostile capitalist encirclement, it is necessary to cope with difficulties not at all insignificant. It is imperative that we catch up with and outstrip the most developed capitalist countries, not only in the technical level of industrial and agricultural production—this we have already attained—but in the level of the economy as well. The key to this is in attaining a high, truly socialist labor productivity by all toilers in the U.S.S.R., in realizing such productivity of labor as is unattainable in the countries of capitalism. This requires a firm labor discipline, all possible unfolding of socialist emulation and of the Stakhanovist movement, and the enhancement of the quality of economic management.

The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan signifies *a new gigantic step on the road to the complete triumph of communism.* Socialism in our country develops on its own base, a base created by it. This imparts to our movement a mighty swing and irresistible power. In the figures of the Third Five-Year Plan is embodied the confident, steadfast pace of the first socialist society in the world, which has already been successful in definitely getting on its own feet, politically and economically. Each one of these figures is an arrow of unusual force hurled into the camp of the enemies of communism.

The theses for the report of Comrade V. M. Molotov, approved in substance by the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U., envisage an increase in industrial production during the Third Five-Year Plan of 88 per cent. This means an average annual increase for all industry of 13.5 per cent, with the increase in the production of the means of production set at 15.2 per cent and in the production of consumption goods at 11 per cent. While in the years of the First Five-Year Plan the average annual increase in industrial production amounted in value to 5,500,000,000 rubles, in the years of the Third Five-Year Plan the average annual increase in industrial production will amount to nearly 17,000,000,000 rubles.

The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan is a plan for the mighty growth of socialist industry, of advance and perfection of its technical base, of all possible strengthening of the defense capacity of our socialist fatherland. The rapid growth of machine building is called upon to ensure the penetration of advanced technique in all branches of the national economy and into all types of defense of the U.S.S.R. The Third Five-Year Plan is a Five-Year Plan for strengthening the fuel base of the U.S.S.R., of further expansion of the electrical power industry and the development of considerable reserves of power capacity. It is a Five-Year Plan of chemistry, of special kinds of steel, of the expansion of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, of a mighty upsurge in the woodworking industry, in the light industries, and in the food industry, of all possible development of local industries and artisan cooperatives.

The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan places large, honorable tasks before socialist agriculture. It envisages a growth of production in all fields of

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agriculture of 53 per cent, an average annual cereal harvet amounting to 7,000,000,000 poods,* further increase in production of industrial crops, and an increase in the number of head of cattle, and in the output of cash livestock products that will completely assure the solution of the livestock problem in the U.S.S.R.

The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan signifies further assured growth of socialist transport and communication. The army of railroad men and water transport workers are presented with a militant program of action for the weal of the socialist fatherland.

The program of the Third Five-Year Plan envisages a vast expansion of the productive apparatus of our country. The planned volume of capital investments in the national economy amounts to 180,000,000,000 rubles, as against 115,000,000,000 rubles during the Second Five-Year Period. The task of a rational, balanced socialist distribution of the productive forces is posed in full scope. The theses point out that *"the distribution of new construction* among the various regions of the U.S.S.R. during the Third Five-Year period should proceed from the premise of placing industry closer to the sources of raw material and the consumption areas, in order to liquidate inexpedient carrying of goods over too great distances, as well as with the view of further raising the level of development of the formerly economically backward regions of the U.S.S.R

A change to extensive building of medium-sized and small enterprises in all fields of the national economy, a decisive struggle against the mania for "giantism" in construction, will insure acceleration of the schedule of construction and the deconcentration of new enterprises into the principal economic regions of the country. The theses forcefully pose the task of creating large national reserves, first of all, of fuel, electrice power, means of transportation, and in some defense industries.

The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan places before all branches of the national economy tremendous tasks in the field of productivity of labor, which must increase in industry by 65 per cent, in railroad transport by 32 per cent, in water transport by 38 per cent, in building by 75 per cent.

Already the first two Stalinist Five-Year Plans insured a large upswing in the material and cultural level of the toilers of the U.S.S.R. The fulfillment of the Third Five-Year Plan will bring about a further rapid growth of the well-being of the toilers and will secure, in addition, the material base for the next stage in the development of the productive forces, well-being and culture of our socialist fatherland.

"Now the task is not the elimination of unemployment and of liquidation of poverty in the countryside—this we are already done with completely and forever. Now the task consists of the creation of such well-being and enhancement of the culture of the toilers as will correspond to the enlarged requirements of the Soviet people, as are unattainable in the richest capitalist countries, and which will signify the beginning of the real flourishing of the forces of socialism, of the flourishing of a new, socialist culture."

* The Russian pood equals 36 lbs. avoirdupois.

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(From the theses for the report of Comrade V. M. Molotov.)

The theses envisage an increase in the consumption of the toilers of the U.S.S.R. by more than one and a half times, an increase in the number of workers and salaried employees, rising wages, an advance in the prosperity of the collective farmers, an acceleration of housing construction.

The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan outlines serious tasks in the field of raising the cultural-technical level of the working class of the U.S.S.R. to the level of workers with engineering and technical training.

A wave of socialist emulation in honor of the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. is sweeping the entire face of the U.S.S.R., a new mighty upsurge in production is spreading among the toilers. Workers, salaried employees, engineering-technical personnel, collective farmers, men of science and art vie with one another in how best to do honor to the most noteworthy historical event in the life of the country—the calling of the Eighteenth Congress of the Leninist-Stalinist Party. There is no doubt that the publication of the theses for the report of Comrade V. M. Molotov to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. will arouse a new upsurge in enthusiastic toil, of initiative and activity in production among the many millions of toilers in the U.S.S.R. Every worker, collective farmer, and intellectual sees with his own eyes the fruits of the victories achieved and the road to the coming complete triumph of communism.

"The fulfillment of the great tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan is so closely connected with the vital interests of the workers, peasants, and Soviet intellegentsia that the assurance of its fulfillment depends first of all on us—Communist and non-Party Bolshevik executives—and particularly on our ability to organize the productive toil and to raise the Communist education of the toilers." (From the theses for the report of Comrade V. M. Molotov.)

The role of the Soviet intelligentsia, of the Soviet cultural forces, heading the masses of toilers in the building of a communist society grows tremendously.

The theses for the report of comrade V. M. Molotov to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. will be received with joy by the friends of the Soviet Union the world over. All progressive, advanced humanity, which sees in the U.S.S.R. the beacon of a new world, will welcome the Third Five-Year Plan as a milepost of extraordinary significance on the historic path of development of the new, communist society. The strength of this majestic program lies in the fact that it is built on the basis of the unconquerable teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THAT EIGHT PER CENT INVESTMENT—THE PRESS

LORDS OF THE PRESS, by George Seldes, 408 pages, Julian Messner, Inc., New York, $3.00.

A people growing into political maturity pays a great deal of attention to its press. So it is with our country today. The nation's hundred million readers are concerned—as Americans have never before been—with its newspapers. People understand today that the press not only reflects history: it helps make it. And the men who make the news come under popular scrutiny in an unprecedented manner. Not since the days of Alexander Hamilton and his "Your people, sir, are a beast" essays in the *Federalist* has the press been so violent in its opposition to the government. Fully 80 per cent of the nation's newspapers lament the New Deal, pervert the truth of its best policies, befuddle the principal issues, and point to dangerous paths as the solution to our national problems.

This land has 5,000 daily and weekly newspapers. Outside of the *Daily Worker* and the chain of Communist newspapers, plus a few—lamentably few—of the labor newspapers, there is no press in which the people can place complete trust. Yet practically every man, woman and child of school age buys the daily paper. Truly, it constitutes a force of giant strength.

To what purpose is this giant strength directed? That question George Seldes attempts to answer in his book *Lords of the Press*—and he has done a commendable job. Coming at this time when the radio carries such debates as that of Secretary Ickes against Frank Gannett, the publisher; when the President himself has seen it necessary on frequent occasions to castigate the dishonesty of the press, this book supplies the answers to questions millions are asking.

FROM A "NOBLE PROFESSION" TO AN EIGHT PER CENT INVESTMENT

The American people have long had a saying, "You can't believe everything you read in the newspapers." They know this. Consider what they did in the 1936 presidential elections when 80 per cent, at least, of the press belabored the New Deal—beat the gong for Landon; but the people overwhelmingly swept Roosevelt into the presidency. However, that is not to deny the power of the press. After all, some 17,000,000 did vote for Landon. The publishers' power is undeniable. Through direct statement or innuendo, through slanting the news or cocking the editorials, through column, cartoon and comic, the potentialities of the press for persuasion are vast. And increasingly, the publishers carry through their own policy of "*gleichschalten*" their business.

Little Orphan Annie precociously lisps a fascist idiom; she is the child in the comics whose creator is nourished by the columns of General Hugh Johnson and his brass-hat ideas. Rube Goldberg, master of insane contraptions, is now political cartoonist of the *New York Sun*. Higher in the hierarchy is Walter Lippman, pontiff of the *Herald Tribune*. Sophistries based upon a false presentation of news, upon misrepresenting important trends, by evil selection and conscious exaggeration, have become stock in trade for every fifth-rate provincial editor, not to speak of the Lords of the Metropolitan Press and the big chains.

As Seldes shows, the more consistent liberal newspapers, like the old *New York World*, have passed into limbo. The *Baltimore Sun* has gone down into a night of reaction. O. K. Bovard—who carried on Lincoln Steffens' tradition generally—resigned from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Mr. Stern's

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New York Post and *Philadelphia Record,* more frequently than not, kick over the traces and bound into crowded pastures of Red-baiting where Sulzberger's *Times* and Ogden Reid's *Herald Tribune* and Captain Patterson's *Daily News* graze. Roy Howard's chain pay scant attention to the lighthouse on their masthead and carry on tirelessly against the New Deal.

Mr. Seldes explains the trend and quotes that peculiar anomaly in the American press, William Allen White, the Emporia, Kansas, editor, who laments the degeneration of the press from a "noble profession" to an "8 per cent investment." Like all business today, it is dominated by the "unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth," White said. The Emporia publisher wrote a telling epitaph to Frank Munsey, wealthy publisher, who died in 1925:

"Frank Munsey, the great publisher, is dead.

"Frank Munsey contributed to the journalism of his day the talent of a meat packer, the morals of a money changer and the manners of an undertaker. He and his kind have about succeeded in transforming a once-noble profession into an 8 per cent security.

"May he rest in trust."

The press, Seldes says in brief, is a business. It is a profit-making endeavor and lives according to the laws of all businesses. Nobody knows this better than that most contemptible body of big-moneyed men in America—the Lords of the Press—the American Newspaper Publishers Association. What makes them particularly revolting is their widely advertised slogan of "public service."

That the press in America has ever been "noble" is, of course, a debatable question. Much of the "nobility" grows out of nostalgia for the past. For capitalism leaves little room for nobility and generosity of spirit. Read the Chicago press in the days of the Haymarket martyrs and you catch a fairly good idea of the extent of that "nobility." However, in the days before monopoly capitalism grew to its full strength the bridle was not so tight. There has been an Abolitionist press which abhorred slavery; a Populist press that sought agrarian and middle-class reform, that sought to "bust the trusts." There have been brave men in pioneering days who edited the editions with revolvers at their desks. But these are new days, these twentieth century days. The "8 per cent investment" has taken over the printing press.

And the Lords of the Press—the A.N.P.A.—Seldes shows, have, with few exceptions, the following record to boast of in the past year:

1. Fought all issues where their profits were involved;
2. Led the attack against a real pure food and drug law. (Their advertising interests were endangered.);
3. Opposed the Wagner Act
4. Urged amendment of proposed social insurance legislation putting newspapers in a special class;
5. Proposed compulsory arbitration of labor disputes with the outlawing of strikes;
6. Favored child labor;
7. Frowned at the Securities Act.

PROFILES OF PRESS LORDS

Seldes goes into detail: he begins with the Odyssey of Captain Patterson, publisher of the New York *Daily News,* the paper with America's biggest circulation; the rich man's son who glimpsed social injustice in his youth but who quickly recovered from his "aberration" and matured into an overlord of the press. The chapter "Lord Roy Howard and His Empire" brilliantly sketches the rise and decline of an honest idea. "There is almost nothing left of the Scripps empire," Seldes writes. "Buildings, business, machines, material things worth millions, but only a few cents worth of spirit; and that flickering in few of his twenty-four cities." The fate of a liberalism that has refused to be progressive.

Seldes is lenient with the *New York Times.* He knows Publisher Sulzberger personally and considers him an honest, if muddled, liberal. "I am absolutely sure," he writes, "that Mr. Sulzberger has convinced himself that he has made the *Times* completely free, liberal, and impartial." And then Seldes devotes twenty-nine pages to proving that the *Times* is neither free, nor liberal, nor impartial. He has accepted Sulzberger's opinions of himself as a man whose intentions are honorable. But the measure of a man is not his opinion of himself, but his work. Look at the record. The *Times* has betrayed its trust; its slogan "All the News

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That's Fit to Print" is a by-word for jest. The cables of the Carneys and the Phillipses and the *Times* policies upon crucial domestic issues tell what kind of liberal Sulzberger really is. And Seldes himself actually says: "To be liberal a newspaper need not be the enemy of big business, but it must at least be free to criticize. The *Times* has never even attempted that. It takes the part of attorney for big business." Seldes feels that Sulzberger's intentions are honorable . . . but that is not the issue. Speculation on the subjective factor is not what is relevant. The premium which Seldes places upon it is done so at the expense of emphasis on what is relevant and decisive—that the *New York Times,* to quote Seldes, "takes the part of big business."

The *Herald Tribune* "is the organ of the ruling class, and the ruling class . . . is opposed to the people it rules." Frank E. Gannett, "small town publisher with a Northcliffe complex," wants to rule or "manipulate the strings of the stooges who rule."

Hearst? This No. 1 Lord of the Press is now in decline. His empire of $220,000,000 is crumbling; his circulation dwindling. He has become People's Enemy No. 1—the Unspeakable Hearst. The *Fortune* survey, Seldes points out, "proves that after 45 years of instructing the American people to follow his principles and candidates the American people are overwhelmingly against Hearst."

So Seldes goes down the list: when he finishes you have fine documentary evidence to quote to those Americans who have just begun to think about the question of the press, and to convince them, by chapter and paragraph, that the lords of the press are the enemies of the people.

THE "LIBERAL" WING OF THE COUNTING ROOM

Certain phases of the book need elaboration. For example, the role of J. David Stern and "His Fight for Liberalism." Seldes again is lenient with his subject, placing Stern in the role of protagonist for truth who is defeated by "the system." But one need not actually be a Marxist to understand that men are not mere puppets of the system. Men also mold their environment. Basing themselves upon progressive forces, armed with a progressive program, men have the power to check and correct social evils, to battle for democracy, to withstand the pressure of reaction. Men who publish newspapers have realized that power for good or for evil, and unfortunately to date, mostly for evil. The *Herald Tribune* bases itself upon Wall Street; Mr. Stern has not honestly based his policies on the needs of the progressive forces, the trade unions and their middle-class allies.

Mr. Stern's story continues the saga of America's liberal publications. From the line-up as recounted by Seldes, one comes to feel they are all doomed. And one reads the long list: the old *New York World;* the *Baltimore Sun,* the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—and now the *New York Post.* Reaction has overtaken them—their liberalism has become tarnished, a thing of little strength and consequence.

But is the liberal press doomed today? President Roosevelt has put it exceedingly well: "I have always been firmly persuaded," he wrote, "that our newspapers cannot be edited in the interests of the general public from the counting room." And there you get to the bottom of it.

The story has *not* been—*Can a liberal press exist in America?* The "liberal" publisher of the Stern variety has always posed the question: *Can a liberal press exist in America—with profit to the owner?*

After all, the owners of all the above-mentioned newspapers have been businessmen first: liberalism came *afterward.* Most have been 8 per cent liberals. They edited their papers from the counting room.

Fundamentally, their goal has been the same as that of the Frank Munseys—the dividend. The difference evolves from their belief that there is money in a liberal publication. They set out to work the "liberal side" of the road. Proof of this is obvious in the advertising pages. Wherever the liberalism of these publishers clashed with the advertisers—the advertisers rarely came out second best. That is the burden of the story.

The weakness of Mr. Stern grows out of this fact: it is the weakness of all "liberal" publishers of his stripe. The times today demand a sterner liberalism. Seldes indicates that. "The pressures increase." he says—the pressures of reaction, of the National

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Manufacturers Association. It cannot be the free and easy liberalism of the late nineteenth century when monopoly capitalism had not yet reached the zenith of its power and the middle classes turbulently expressed their hatred of Wall Street. It was the era of "trust-busting"—the days of Populist growth, of agrarian antagonism to the Eastern money-lords, the days of the muckrake. The elder Pulitzer reflected much of that spirit in his papers and his influence grew. Of course a great deal of "sensational" journalism also helped push him forward.

But matters are considerably different today. Monopoly capital, much stronger, grows more aggressive as its position becomes more precarious. It seeks to deprive the people of many more rights. It turns toward fascism. The people grow angry; they are in a mood to fight back. They fight back. A liberal therefore must take a sharp, brave stand. He must come out positively for the needs of the people. He must champion such a program as the New Deal and all it predicates.

That means hearty endorsement and staunch support of such legislation as the Wagner Act, social insurance, civil liberties. And as today the issues of social and national security are inextricably intertwined, it means endorsement of concerted action for peace, it means courage to make a stand before the aggressor powers, it means the heart to stand up against the reactionaries in the hierarchy of Catholicism who have led their co-religionists into tragic consequences by failing to combat their greatest enemies—the anti-Christian forces of fascism.

To be principled and consistent, the liberal must adopt a definite pro-labor position; a position in accord with all the forces working for democracy and peace. This means no capitulation to the Red-baiters and to the enemies of the Soviet Union.

It is significant that even from the point of view of the counting house, such consistency to principle is necessary in a newspaper that tells the public it is liberal.

Deviating from a firm course, attacking the Newspaper Guild, indulging in Red-baiting, attacking collective security, libeling the Soviet Union, lead, in a paper that is ostensibly liberal, to disgust on the part of the readers, to lost readers. Lost readers mean lost advertisers.

Hence, Mr. Stern's very eagerness to *appease* the big advertisers has resulted in his loss of influence—and loss of that which he sought the most—a paying dividend. For there is room in America for a bold, liberal press—the times cry out for it. But it must be bold, it must be brave; above all it must base itself upon the needs of the people, reflect the program of their mass organizations, centered about labor and about the progressive organizations hostile to reaction or fascism.

WAYS TOWARD A BETTER PRESS

William Allen White, in one of those moments of bright vision he frequently evidences without pursuing them to their conclusion, has written that we cannot have a free press so long "as the sense of property goes thrilling down the line." Mr. Seldes agrees and that brings him to the question of "changing the world."

"That," Seldes writes, "may take some time." In the meanwhile he offers some "practical" ways of helping produce "a better, if not a free, press."

And in that impulse, he is, of course, correct.

As Marxists, we realize that the question of the freedom of the press is bound up fundamentally with the kind of society we live in and the type of democracy it creates.

We know that by and large the press reflects the aspirations of the ruling class. We know too that within limits, the people can enforce a certain response in the press to their needs, their aspirations, even though the press can never be totally free while capitalism endures. But that limited freedom of the press is endangered today by the reactionaries who fear the growth of progressive ideas, of anti-fascist movements.

Ninety-five per cent of the American people today face the abrogation of whatever rights they have. Fascist-mindedness grows in the ranks of the most aggressive section of monopoly capital. The Tories are not averse to building the Brownshirt armies in America. Under those circumstances, there is a common, urgent and immediate task of defending the freedom of the press and of

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all our liberties against the encroachments of reaction.

Seldes calls upon the people to "produce a better, if not a free press." "Protest," he cries. Raise hell about the falsity of the commercial press. "The greatest cause for optimism," he points out, "is the result of the boycott of the Hearst press from New York to California. Stop buying Red-baiting papers." He urges readers to write to the editors. "Never grow weary of protesting," he cries, and if that fails, boycott the corrupt newspaper.

Surprisingly, one of his proposals is a request to "let newspapermen run the newspapers." This is, of course, the old technocratic notion—a fallacy long ago exploded. One might perhaps say that in striking upon this "solution" Seldes was seeking a way out of the basic tangle in which journalism finds itself in a capitalist world. But while his indictment of monopoly's stranglehold upon the press is praiseworthy the solution has to be found in another direction.

His most consequential suggestion comes on page 399: "Labor must fight the Press Lords," he writes. Unfortunately, this sections of his book is the sketchiest. He admits there are 570 labor publications in the United States with a circulation of 8,778,000. But he devotes only a few paragraphs to this vital phase of the subject.

A few words of praise for their honesty dispose of the *Daily Worker* and the Communist newspapers generally. But their example is worth considerable discussion. If a relatively small aggregate of devoted Americans organized, however, in a Party with a *program* that grows out of the deepest needs of the people, can publish daily newspapers and periodicals—why could not such organizations as the trade unions, the progressive working class and middle class organizations publish daily papers?

Seldes poses that question, but unfortunately too briefly, too sketchily. "For its own interests," he declares, "if not for the interests of a better press, labor should have its own newspapers." But he passes on immediately to another point.

Herein lies the essential shortcoming of the work. Progressive, honest newspapers can be published in America—despite the power of monopoly capitalism. They can be published by labor and by its middle-class allies. One need not rely upon the dubious friendship of such "business-liberals" as Mr. Stern. Organized bodies of men seeking a better set-up—even within the range of capitalism—can promote, publish and build a progressive press.

The base is there: a program is there. Consider the 570 labor publications and their eight and three-quarter million readers; consider, too, the fact that there is a Negro press reaching millions of Negro readers.

The farmers, the small businessmen, the millions of students in high school and college, the white collar workers, the professionals—all these are opposed to fascism, all seek a program, all desire unity to move against fascism, unity to defend their democratic rights.

Yet Seldes devotes but one chapter of his book to a single "labor" paper—to the *Jewish Daily Forward*. He rightly observes that "despite lip service to Socialism Cahan and his paper have taken the road to reaction. They have always represented the conservative wing. . . . They first supported but from 1929 on attacked Soviet Russia, using all the propaganda and Riga falsehoods long before Hearst and McCormick." He describes how the *Forward* accepts the "usual bad medicine and other advertising, and it has accepted the ads of corporations whose union men were on strike. On more than one occasion workingmen have smashed *Forward* office windows." All too true. He thus describes how a labor paper should not be run. But he has spent, regrettably, but a few paragraphs on the great potentialities of a labor and progressive press. He merely mentions that a really liberal, really progressive, anti-fascist press should be built. He does not state boldly that we do not need the Sterns. or the Howards, or the Pulitzers to create a genuine people's press in America. The people itself can supply the talent—there is enough of it in the American Newspaper Guild and in labor generally—to do the job. Organization is necessary—the need to create an honest press must be brought to the working class, the utter perfidy of the commercial press be explained to the people as a whole.

In that way we can be certain to build

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now—in this period—a press that will truly reflect the anti-fascist desires of the people. John L. Lewis recently declared:

"There is a growing conviction among labor and progressive forces in America that it is necessary for the common people to develop a press of their own—a press which can really express the aims and aspirations of the great majority of the people in this democracy."

It is a pity that Seldes did not discuss this fact in much greater detail. For here is the certain way out. There may be a business man who may get the capital, and have the will, and have a sufficiency of liberal spirit and program, to keep a progressive, honest paper afloat. That is possible. But the way that Lewis points, is certain. It needs but to be acted upon.

Such a press—based upon the organizations of the working class and its allies—can seriously cut into the influence of the Tory press, undermine its influence, and build that most necessary structure of today—a democratic front to defeat fascism.

At the same time, Seldes is right in urging all to protest, to refuse to stay quiet at the outrages committed by the commercial press. An aroused public sentiment can prevent the worst of the crimes. A people protesting, as he shows, can destroy a power like that of Hearst. And publishers must be made to fear that power.

To summarize: George Seldes' book *Lords of the Press* is a valuable instrument in the fight against the monopolist stranglehold upon the American press. We hope he will revise and extend his book to a fuller treatment of the points mentioned above: of the possibilities of a press outlined by John L. Lewis. The people are ready.

JOSEPH NORTH.

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1800-1865, by Joseph Cephas Carroll, 229 pages, Boston, 1938, Chapman & Grimes, $2.00

THE history of the United States is made up of the efforts of the masses of the people to consolidate and extend economic, social, and political advances. No sector of our countrymen has a more inspiring share in these struggles than the Negro people. The whole story of America's progressive traditions has yet to be fully unearthed, analyzed and integrated. And no part of that story has been so sadly neglected and viciously distorted as the role of the Negro.

It is therefore heartening to have in Dr. Caroll's work new evidence of awakening interest in the revolutionary struggles of American Negroes. Moreover, the conclusions which the author clearly enunciates, namely, that the Negro persistently and courageously fought for freedom, and that this tradition of militant struggle must be persevered in until the Negro achieves complete and perfect equality, are of tremendous importance and cannot be too often reiterated. Dr. Carroll's sympathetic approach to his study and his enlightened conclusions from that study are, then, to be commended.

Nevertheless, it must be said with regret that this book is seriously marred by many errors, both of omission and of commission.

Of most importance are the errors of omission. Why were there revolts? A description of what American slavery really was, a staple-producing economy dependent upon the world market and therefore subject to periods of severe depression (which hurt the workers—the slaves), and what the conditions of the slave's life were, would appear to have been in order. One would then more clearly understand why periods of acute depression were invariably periods of serious slave unrest.

What were the effects of the revolts? They affected every phase of Southern life and history and many aspects of national life and history. A part of the answer to this question would have called for a description of the safeguards against the rebellion which the slavocrats used. An understanding of these repressive laws and customs is certainly necessary for an appreciation of the struggles of the slaves.

Even from a purely statistical point of view the work is incomplete, for there were about twice as many revolts and plots as the number given by the author.

Errors of commission are numerous. Some of considerable importance may be men-

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tioned.* It is certainly erroneous to declare that the only revolts "of significant proportions" were those led by Gabriel, Vesey, and Turner (p. 12). There were many other uprisings of quite "significant proportions," most notably in South Carolina in 1739-40, in Louisiana in 1795, in Virginia and North Carolina in 1802, in Louisiana in 1811, in Virginia and South Carolina in 1816, in South Carolina in 1829, in Mississippi in 1835, in Louisiana in 1837 and 1840, and throughout the South in 1856 and 1860. It is important to appreciate this, for otherwise one would conceive of slave uprisings as sporadic and exceptional, and would thus fail to see their true meaning. Revolts and plots, serious revolts and plots, were regularly recurring phenomena in ante-bellum Southern life. They were chacteristic, not unusual.

One should at least qualify the statement that the slaves "regarded" the poor whites "with intense hatred and fear" (p. 25). The whole question of Negro-poor white relationship needs study. But surely what is already known of frequent Negro-poor white cooperation should make one exceedingly wary of swallowing the myth of implacable and unbroken hatred between Negro and poor white.

We know that the records of slave revolts themselves show from the earliest plot in English America, in Virginia in 1663, to the last slave conspiracy in the United States, in Alabama in 1864, frequent cooperation between poor whites and Negro slaves against their common exploiters. We know that from the time of the united guerrilla warfare waged by escaped Negro slaves and Unionist poor whites against the Confederate army, to the common political action during Reconstruction, to the Negro and poor white unity in the Populist movement of the 1890's, through today's account of rising joint Negro-white struggle among the sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and industrial workers, the history of the South has been marked and made by the masses of the people, Negro and white, fighting together for economic and political advances.

It is most emphatically erroneous to declare that from 1826 to Nat Turner's outbreak in August, 1831, "there was nothing to disturb slavery's peaceful course" (p. 113). No five years were more filled with plots and uprisings. These uprisings, the restrictive measures they led to, and the panic they spread throughout the South surely were more important in influencing Turner than the fact that he was born at the height of the excitement over the Gabriel plot so that "parental influence might have had some effect upon the soul" of Turner! (p. 120).

There is over-emphasis (pp. 132-33) on what would today be called Turner's superstitious nature. His beliefs were not unusual, for either white or Negro, for his time and place. His rebellious feelings were couched and enunciated in mystical and religious terms because these were then dominant for all. Had the author understood this and had he been aware, as Turner must have been, of the tremendous slave unrest of the decade prior to August, 1831, he would have better understood Turner's strategy in starting his rebellion with but five followers. Turner had full confidence that, having once struck the blow and broken the dam, the waters of rebellious feelings among the slaves of the neighborhood would overflow. This happened, and within twelve or fifteen hours of the first attack the original six had grown to seventy, and the numbers of the rebels were still growing when defeat came. The slaves were not "forced" to join as the writer says in unison with Southern papers; they *flocked* to Turner's standard. Their heroic behavior while suffering excruciating tortures, testified to by Southern eyewitnesses (though not mentioned by the author) is further convincing proof that Turner's rank and file were quite as anxious for liberty as he was.

One must also most vigorously deny that the Turner uprising (or the slave revolts as a whole) "showed the utter futility of armed resistance in settling a great issue" (p. 171). The author, indeed, contradicts himself when he admits, on the very same page, that the Civil War settled "a great national issue," the issue of slavery.

At one point (p. 182) the reader is accurately informed that from 1830 to 1860 at least 2,000 slaves annually succeeded in

*Minor errors are enumerated at the conclusion of this article.—*H. B.*

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fleeing, *i.e.*, at least 60,000 in 30 years, but a few lines down he is surprised to read that from 1810 to 1860 only 50,000 Negroes escaped! In another place (p. 195) the author refers to the militant Abolitionists of 1860 who personally aided slaves in their efforts for freedom as "unscrupulous and fanatic whites." Surely these are not the appropriate words with which to describe the anonymous John Browns of American history.

Had the author remedied a bibliographical error of omission he would have done much to rectify his narrative and statistical errors. He should certainly have used such readily available secondary works as Taylor's article on North Carolina slave plots in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (Vol. V,); Wallace's *History of South Carolina;* Johnson's *Ante-bellum North Carolina;* and articles on the subject (which appeared many months before Dr. Carroll's book) by Aptheker in *Science and Society* (Vols. I, II), and by Wish in *Journal of Negro History* (Vol. XXII). And there is certainly more available in the archives at Washington and Richmond, which the author visited, than his work would show, let alone the manuscript material in North and South Carolina.

Again let it be emphasized that Dr. Carroll's basic attitude or approach is correct and praiseworthy. But his work certainly is not the definitive history of American Negro slave revolts.

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Some of the rather minor errors are: The slaves equalled less than 10 per cent of the total population in Virginia in 1687; they were not "about equal" to the whites (p. 14). The Louisiana plot described on pages 16-17 occurred in 1730, not in 1718. There were at least three plots (1702, 1711, 1713) in South Carolina prior to that of 1720 which is cited (p. 17) as the earliest in that colony. Better evidence is needed to establish the existence of a slave plot in Georgia in 1728—over twenty years before slavery was established there (p. 19). The New Jersey plot of 1734 occurred near Somerville; there was and is no "Summersville" (p. 20). Cato was the leader of the South Carolina uprising of 1739, not 1740, and it centered at Stono river, not "Stone" (pp. 22-24). The Pointe Coupee uprising in Louisiana occurred in 1795, not 1796 (p. 44). Governor Monroe did not first hear of the Gabriel plot on August 30, 1800. He certainly heard of it by August 10, and indeed, on April 22 he had written of his fears of a Negro rebellion (p. 51). There was a conspiracy in South Carolina in 1819, not 1818 (p. 76). The trouble mentioned in Newbern, N. C., occurred in 1829, not 1826 (p. 113). Southampton county, where Turner's revolt occurred, did not, in 1830, contain 8,000 whites, but 6,500, and not 12,000 Negroes, but 9,500 (p. 129). The Turner revolt did not come "within an inch of frightening Virginia into emancipation" (p. 159). No emancipation bill was voted upon. A motion to refer such a bill to a committee was defeated. Even a colonization bill was defeated. A Tennessee plot which the author puts in 1832 occurred in 1831 (p. 177). A Louisiana conspiracy dated in 1836 occurred in 1835 (p. 179). Plots placed in 1857 occurred in 1856 (p. 192). On the same page a Maryland plot of 1857 is put in 1858, and a plot in Mississippi in 1858 is put in Tennessee in 1859. The Confederates announced the discovery of Union plans for a general slave revolt in 1863, not 1862. The existence of any such official plans is exceedingly doubtful anyway (p. 206).

HERBERT BIEL.

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CAPITAL, *by Karl Marx,* Vol. I, (including changes made by Engels in the fourth German edition; Engels' Preface to the fourth German edition, with notes; Marx's Preface to the French edition; notes on the English edition), International Publishers, New York, $2.50.

PAGES FROM A WORKER'S LIFE, *by Wm. Z. Foster,* International Publishers, $2.00.

DOLORES IBARRURI, Speeches and Articles, 1936-1938, International Publishers, 75c.

THE MARXIST PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES, *by J. B. S. Haldane,* Random House, New York, $2.00.

A KEY TO NEW YORK, *by Rosalie Slocum and Ann Todd,* Modern Age Books, N. Y., 95c.

PAMPHLETS

THE ECONOMICS OF COMMUNISM—Soviet Economy in Its World Relation, *by Earl Browder,* Workers Library Publishers, New York, 5c.

RELIGION AND COMMUNISM, *by Earl Browder,* Workers Library Publishers, New York, 2c.

LENIN AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNITY, *by D. Z. Manuilsky,* Workers Library Publishers, 3c.

I PRINCIPII DEL LENINISMO, *by Joseph Stalin,* Edizioni di Coltura Sociale, Paris, 6 francs.

DOPO MONACO, *by Giorgio Dimitrov,* (The United Front of the International Proletariat and of the People Against Fascism.) Edizioni di Coltura Sociale, 128, Boulevard de Charonne, Paris, 2.50 francs.

LA GIOVENTU ITALIANA IN FRANCIA, Congresso di Villeurbanne, Aug. 1938. Edizioni dell' A.G.I.F. 148, rue du Faubourg, Saint-Denis, Paris, 2 francs.

CANCIONES DE LAS BRIGADAS INTERNACIONALES, Barcelona, June, 1938.

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PAMPHLETS ON VITAL QUESTIONS
By EARL BROWDER

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